The Christian East

THE MASSACRE OF NICÆA

CONSTANTINOPLE,
October 8, 1920.

DEAR SIR,

I hope that both you and the readers of your periodical will be interested to hear of the atrocious persecutions by which the Turks here, in Asia Minor, attempt to exterminate all those who confess the Christian Faith, and of the savage rage of destruction with which they endeavour to destroy all remnants of ancient Christian art. I beg to enclose a report drawn up by the Rev. Metropolitan of Nicæa regarding the destruction of this ancient city, where the first Œcumenical Council was held, and of its ancient Church. The enclosed photographs illustrate the destruction. You would do me a great favour by publishing the enclosed report in your periodical in order to make the members of the Anglican Church acquainted with the sufferings of their fellow-Christians and induce them to raise a cry in their defence.

I also beg to enclose an interesting booklet containing a brief survey of the history of ancient Nicæa and its Church, and have the honour to remain, dear sir,

Yours faithfully,

✠ DIONISSIOS E. MENAS,
Archimandrite,
General Secretary to the Holy Synod,
Œcumenical Patriarchate, Phanar, Constantinople.

"TO THE MOST REVEREND DOROTHEOS, LOCUM TENENS OF THE ŒCUMENICAL THRONE.

"Overwhelmed in spirit I write this letter, after a personal inspection of the frightful atrocities which have been perpetrated in Nicæa by those monsters in human shape, the Kemal hordes.

"On the 20th of September I was informed from Nicæa by the Chief of the Staff of the Greek Army there, Lieut.-Colonel John Kotola, that Nicæa was occupied by the Greek Army on the 17th of September.

"I knew authoritatively quite well, being constantly anxious about the advance toward Nicæa, that something of the kind was happening

from the accounts of the crimes committed by the disorderly miscreants who were in occupation at Nicæa under their leader Djemal; and who, encouraged by the failure of the Greek Army to advance, were harassing all the country round about.

"After receiving this information we set out, with Lieut-Generals Merarchus and Mazarake, on September 22nd, and, having crossed the Ascanian Lake with great difficulty, we arrived about midnight at Nicæa.

"Early the next day we went to the famous Church, and found it deplorably ruined in every part. They had for the purpose of robbery overthrown and unearthed everything from the foundations. It was an unprecedented exhibition of godless profanity.

"In the Sanctuary the Holy Table was overthrown. The famous sculptured slab upon it was broken. The ground encircling it was broken up. The slab, adorned with inlaid mosaics, which lay between the Table and the Throne, was smashed to pieces.

"Moreover, in the Diakonikon and the Prothesis everything was overturned and destroyed. Only the wonderful mosaics in the great dome had sustained lesser injuries from gunfire, being otherwise inaccessible owing to their height.

"In the Nave and Aisles the Church was completely stripped of its numerous ancient eikons. Many of these were smashed and others profaned. The figures had their eyes dug out and their precious covers stripped off.

"The mosaics discovered by me a few years since, of extraordinary craftsmanship, with figures of our Lord and of the Mother of God, had sustained the greatest injuries, chiefly that of the Mother of God, the larger portion being completely torn away, as well as the whole of the wonderful figure of the Holy Child. This loss is of the greatest to mosaic art.

"Also the large plate glass of these two eikons, together with the superb gilded frames and their handsome silver lamps, all of which were a votive offering of the ever-memorable Patriarch Joachim the Third, a special reverer of this Church, were smashed to pieces.

"All the candelabra, the lamps, the chandeliers, the standards, the banners, the sacred vessels, both of silver and of gold, the silver-covered Gospel of the Holy Table, had been stripped and destroyed. The ancient book-rests, the throne, the greater part of the ambo, all the stalls, and the shrines, had been broken and destroyed.

"All the Church books, some of them most ancient, and priceless for their different historical information, the ancient codex of the priests and of the Church, in many ways a living history, also the Holy Gospel itself, had been torn and scattered and defiled in the open court and along the streets.

"The great and celebrated sarcophagus in the wall of the right-hand aisle toward the porch, also the beautiful finely-wrought ancient chest on the northern wall, fixed on the wall of the right-hand aisle toward the Sanctuary, had sustained vandal-like ruin and irreparable injury.

"The two famous black columns, so often rescued by me from sacrilegious attempts, hidden away in the securest place of the part assigned to the women, no longer exist, though the most precious heirlooms of the old Byzantine art.

"Also the Entrance-porch and Women's Gallery had sustained destruction and spoliation of the eikons, and the lamps, and the candelabra, and the shrines, and the other ecclesiastical objects, many of which were of considerable antiquity.

"The floor of the Sanctuary, too, had been dug up everywhere; so also in the Nave and toward the Aisles and toward the Entrance-porch the ground had been everywhere disturbed in search for treasure, and thereby the ancient tombs beneath have been profaned.

"Also the great Cross upon the Dome had been cast down and broken up. The windows also of the Dome and most of those in the Church had been broken.

"Thus the whole of this famous ancient Church, the chief glory of Nicæa, after its long and illustrious life of thirteen hundred years (601–1920), is now a ruin—a cause for deep affliction and indignation over this latest barbarous profanity of the Turk.

"In this Church and around it, pre-eminently honoured during the time of the Byzantine Empire in Nicæa (1204–1261), were buried the Emperor Theodore Lascaris and his wife Anna, his father-in-law, Alexius the Fourth, and his nephew Manuel, the Patriarch Methodius, and other celebrated men of the Empire in Nicæa.

"History bears frequent witness to this Church. The study of history and of Byzantine art has directed special attention to this most sacred heirloom of our Fathers. It has been the subject of many a writing. I have myself briefly described it in a little work issued in 1912.[1]

"The appalling enormities of the Turks up to the present day, and all their disgraceful doings in the world-wide war, when numberless calamities were inflicted by them upon our nation, do not rival the overthrow of this most sacred Christian heirloom, prized by many a pilgrim from all parts of the world. The Turks have added to the list of their misdoings the total annihilation of the Greeks in Nicæa.

"Despising the common law of the civilized world, and making no account of the consequences of such disgraceful wickedness, they did not hesitate to murder, after all kinds of torments, the entire Greek population of Nicæa, in number about 500, in the space of a few hours.

[1] The pamphlet referred to in the Archimandrite Menas' letter above.

"In the middle of the night, August 14-15, they forcibly dragged the Greeks from their houses, men, women and children, and led them through the Lefkæ Gate, outside the city, to a place of martyrdom and every sort of torture.

"Some of their victims were unable to travel along the way, especially the children, crying and wailing. And these monsters, to relieve themselves from this encumbrance, immediately slew them like lambs and sheep. Some of them they flung into the wells beside the road. Others they laid under a little earth, where the corpses can still be seen.

"Three wells by the roadside were filled with half-dead bodies of men; for the rough-and-ready methods of slaughter did not always kill these unhappy victims outright. These pits, when we beheld them, were covered with stones and earth in order to diminish the stench.

"But the majority were led away to the place of martyrdom. It was a certain hill where there was a wide, deep cave, with another somewhat smaller cave above it. Outside these caves and within them they were indiscriminately cut down, and flung the one upon the other, writhing and in frightful agony.

"Some of the corpses were found awfully mutilated, especially the women, whose breasts had been cut off and their bodies ripped open. Similar torments were inflicted on the men. One corpse, carried into Nicæa after our departure, bore an open wound penetrating clean through the body.

"A girl was found crucified on a tree, and left as food for birds of prey. Some friendly Greeks of the neighbourhood took down her corpse and buried her beside the scene of her fearful tortures, thereby concealing the evidence of a sin the most abominable of all.

"Outside the great cave there lay a corpse which was horrible to see. Beside it was strewn a woman's hair, and other traces of a vanished life, and of most loathsome mutilations. Dogs, jackals, and birds of prey proved more merciful toward these unhappy creatures than their fellow-men.

"Many a tragic incident accompanied the abduction of these victims. From the house of the late Sophronius Stavrides, Exarch of Nicæa, the Turks dragged away his son Soterius with his betrothed Wilhelmina, daughter of Sebastus of Lefkæ, a resident in Nicæa of many years. They also carried off her mother, and the mother of Soterius, and his sister Sappho.

"When these monsters saw the youthful beauty of Wilhelmina and Sappho, they laid hands upon them. And when Soterius resisted, they instantly murdered him, and led away Wilhelmina with her mother and Sappho.

"The first fell a victim to the dissoluteness of Djemal, and the

second to that of his subordinate Ismael. Afterwards Wilhelmina was murdered with her mother in Lefkæ, and the same was to be the fate of Sappho also.

"Many other wickednesses had the Turks committed before the final destruction of Niçæa and afterwards at Lefkæ. In Nicæa, even before this great outburst of shamelessness, women and girls sustained all sorts of perils, while the men were perpetually subjected to enforced payments.

"Meanwhile, outside the city, at the place of slaughter already mentioned, a fearful scene of universal massacre was being perpetrated, and many a half-dead, writhing, and mutilated body of a Greek was being dragged into the two caves. And inside the city, round the precincts of the Church, another fearful scene was being enacted.

"Women from the neighbouring houses fled from their pursuers to take refuge in the Church as a sanctuary, where they found Nicæa's only priest, the aged Jordanes. But these miscreants murdered some of the women by the well at the Entrance-porch. The stains of their blood can still be seen. They were seized and flung into the well, and covered with stones and earth.

"As for the priest, they forced a bit into his mouth, and compelled him to go on all fours, carrying on his back children of the loathsome Turk, parading through the city. They led him in this way outside the walls, and murdered him like the rest beside the great cave by the awful human sacrifice, which even to-day inspires us with horror and indignation.

"Out of more than 500 Greek inhabitants of Nicæa there escaped as by a miracle only one young man, excepting some fifteen persons who were away at Kios and Constantinople and elsewhere. And thus Nicæa, essentially Hellene down all these centuries, is, as a Greek city, a perfect desolation.

"The resident Turks, who are more numerous than the Greeks, being themselves for the most part implicated in the guilt as abettors of the Kemal hordes, fled headlong when they heard of the approach of the Greek forces, fearing a righteous retribution.

"And when the Greek forces actually reached Nicæa on the 19th of September, many of the remaining Turks immediately took to flight. But they were restrained by the forbearing conduct of the Greeks, who convinced them that they had no cause for fear.

"But only one Christian soul could be discovered still alive. She was a Greek girl from Lefkæ, Olga, daughter of Thomas Kelesoglos, victim of the lust of the leader of the base Djemal hordes. She had been saved as by a miracle. She is now staying in Kios under the protection of the leader of the Greek force. She was able to give them full particulars from the information she had received from the

Turkish women during the time of her residence in Nicæa from the 6th to the 19th of September.

"Inquiry from Turks still living in Nicæa demonstrates the truth of the foregoing account, and the extent of the vileness. The more reasonable among them confess that the extent of the massacre has not been exaggerated. They declare that they themselves repudiated the action of the other resident Turks, who readily encouraged the Kemal onslaught, prompted by fanaticism and greed of gain.

"We then, after this spectacle of heartrending desolation in our city, and the total destruction of our Church, and the sight of the well choked with corpses, and traces of bloodshed, went up to the place of martyrdom. We witnessed on the way the various proofs of outrage, the wells, and all the other places where the dead lay buried beneath a scanty covering of earth.

"The appalling spectacle confronting us in the great cave is simply indescribable. But it roused our souls to the deepest revolt against the crime of those assassins who had murdered so many men whose only offence was that they were Greeks and that they were Christians.

"After remaining two days in Nicæa I left in company with the Lieut.-General Alexander Mazarake and other officials on September 23rd. I arrived here at Kios on the 24th after a tedious journey. I drew up this report of the occurrences, setting forth with all possible brevity the pitiful story of the actions perpetrated by the Turks in the East after the Armistice, and, above all, the calamitous destruction of the sacred Church of the Mother of God.

"As concerning the loss of life, the massacres were more numerous in Ortakeui of Bithynia, and the neighbourhood of Choudi, Bourkhanieh Kioupe, Sasle, and in the settlement of the railway-station of Keibeg. The massacre at Lefkæ reached the full number of 1,800 beyond the lives about which I have written.

"It appears that various other localities [the names are mentioned] sustained a similar calamity, these wild monsters being ferociously mad against everything Christian and especially against the Greek.

"These last reports are uncertain, and not yet confirmed, owing to the failure of direct communication, although otherwise they appear to be most credible. Only the inhabitants of Baboutchak Derbend fought nobly, and were saved with the loss of only 50 men. The remaining 1,500 escaped, and are now in Brusa Susurluki.

"And now, I ask, what will the civilized world do confronted with such monsters and such shameful deeds? I do not mention other similar hostilities against the Greeks and Armenians in the Metropolis of Nicomedeia. The evil appears to be steadily growing worse, with, it seems, deliberate intention against the Greeks, in order to secure the wholesale extermination of Christianity in Asiatic Turkey.

"I most earnestly plead for the advance of the Greek force, which has everywhere nobly worked for peace and order and freedom. I desire this in the interests of the security of the Greeks and Armenians. The noble-minded of the Turks themselves concur in our desires, although we pay little regard to their wishes.

"In our deep disquietude for Nicæa, from the first days of the arrival of the Greek force at Kios, we never ceased for a moment to implore the authorities to make immediate advance, at the very least toward Nicæa. I am happy to say that they were all willing so to do, but from their cautious answers I realized that the obstacle to their action lay elsewhere.

"Furthermore, I am persuaded that it is my sacred duty to declare that the only security for the Greeks and Armenians in these parts and in the further East is the advance of the Greek forces at least as far as Ankyra, and the overthrow of the abominable tyranny of Mustapha Kemal and his creatures. Only in this way is there hope, or rather certainty, of peace for the East and for Greece, and a prospect of preventing the renewal of massacres in those parts.

"May the All-holy God in His mercy towards us all restrain in bounds and bring to an end the numerous evils of the East: evils which menace further destruction of whole nations, and become more deadly every time they are repeated.

"Most earnestly looking forward to the abatement of these calamities, I remain with all reverence aud submission,

"Your Holiness's beloved brother in Christ,

✠ "BASIL,

"*Bishop of Nicæa.*

"KIOS,

"*September 25th*, 1920."

NICÆA AND ITS CHURCH

BY THE REV. J. A. DOUGLAS

IN massacring the whole Christian population of Nicæa and of the villages of Bithynia, and in wrecking the ancient Church of the Koimesis, Djemal was acting under the orders of Mustapha Kemal, who thus appears to have brought to its full end the secular Ottoman policy of Turkifying what is left of Turkey by the complete extirpation of the Christian race and name. That policy was inaugurated in 1821 by seas of blood throughout the Sultan's Empire, was inherited by Abdul-Hamid, passed on to the Young Turks, and made a first end by Talaat, Enver, and their fellows. If Mustapha Kemal has not been

left much to do by his forerunners, he has used the freedom allowed him, by the veto placed last June on a further Greek advance into Asia Minor, to glean thoroughly in the field that they reaped.

A few notes on Nicæa and its Church may be helpful towards estimating the measure of his achievement and understanding the Metropolitan's letter. Nicæa stands—or must we now say stood?—about fifty-six miles as a bird flies from Constantinople, at the east end of beautiful Lake Ascania, in a fertile, though neglected and unhealthy, plain, ringed round by great hills, with the glorious snow-capped Bithynian Olympus away to the south.

It has had a long history, which begins in the dim days when Greek colonists first brought Hellenism to Bithynia and it was known as Angora. Antigonus refounded it in 310 B.C. and Lysimachus gave it his wife's name, Nicæa, in 300 B.C. As was the way with the city builders of that epoch, Nicæa was laid out four square and its main street still runs in a straight line from the gate—it has four, one in the centre of each of its sides—on the lake to the Lefkæ Gate in the eastern wall. It was a city of capital importance in the days of the Bithynian Kings, and it remained so when their kingdom was merged in the Empire of Rome. Trajan and Hadrian rebuilt its walls and baths and amphitheatre. Pliny wrote of it. It had thus a long record as a seat of government, of trade and of culture when Constantine chose it as the place of meeting for the Council which in 325 was to lay the foundation of the Œcumenical system and to define the Œcumenical Faith of Christendom.

In the eight centuries which followed it retained much of its civil and economic importance, but above all came to be a symbolic city, the City of the Creed. As such it was particularly cherished by the Emperors, who prided themselves upon it as one of their chief possessions. Justinian especially beautified it with churches, baths, and so forth. This characteristic, and perhaps the neighbourhood of Olympus, which, until the rise of Mount Athos, was a Greek Thebaid *in petto*, made it a monastic city. In the thirteenth century, for example, it contained no less than forty-seven monasteries. The Seventh and last Œcumenical Council was held in it. The Seljuk Turks captured it in the eleventh century, and made it the capital of their short-lived sultanate until the first Crusaders retook it. When the Pope's Crusaders sacked Constantinople in 1204, and established Latinism by the sword in St. Sophia, Theodore Lascaris fled to Nicæa as to the cradle of Orthodoxy, and thus Eastern Christendom regathered its strength, until in 1261 the Emperor won back the Queen City. The Greek race and the Orthodox world can never forget that Nicæa was for fifty-seven years the refuge of the Imperial and Patriarchal thrones.

In 1330 Orchan, the second Osmanli Sultan, took it and made it

his capital. Those were the days when the Turks were eating piecemeal the dying Empire. A hundred years later Mahomet II. made Nicomedia the capital of the district (sanjak), and so ended its 1,800 years' rivalry with Nicæa, which thenceforward dwindled steadily until, except for its name, its ruins, and its church, it became a little town of no importance.

In pre-war days a trip from Constantinople to Nicæa was an easy matter which involved no other difficulty than the having to take an interpreter or speak Turkish[1] and to put up with primitive accommodation at the Hôtel de Nicée, kept by the son of an Italian exile. There were four routes to the city. The most usual was by steamer to Mudania, thence by road or rail to Brusa, where there is much to see, and, after a stop of a day or two, by road to the Yeni-shehr (or South) Gate. The next easiest was by rail to Lefkæ, and then a twenty-mile ride over a rough hill road, through fine scenery, to the Lefkæ (or East) Gate. The two most unusual were first by train, and then by row-boat across the Gulf of Ismidt, and finally, after a night at a village, on horse to the Stambul (or North) Gate, or by steamer to Mudania, and then, after a nine-mile ride, by boat across the lake to the Water (or West) gate. It was this last that the Metropolitan describes himself as having taken.

But by whichever of the four the traveller approached the city the first thing that he saw was the wonderful old walls. Basil the Bulgar slayer, Leo the Wise, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and other Emperors strengthened them in turn. The Turks have let them decay and crumble, but there they are with their round towers and the old gates of the second century. Even now that the last spark of the city's life seems to have been put out, they bear their witness. Inside them on the three land sides there is a jumble of gardens and orchards of walnut and mulberries—silk-growing was the chief "industry" of modern Nicæa—and then the mud-built houses of the town. There were plenty of things to see—mosques of the Seljuks and early Osmanlis, an old red-brick Byzantine monastic building used as an *imaret*,[2] the remains of the amphitheatre half covered with earth, an open field by the lake where the Emperor's palace stood and the First Council was held, the obelisk of Cassius, the geographer, erected in the first century, and so on. And in seeing them, despite one's indignation, one had the delight, never known in England, of seeing them in natural ruins. Nothing was preserved. A column that was about to fall might fall, and where it fell there it lay for the mould and grass to cover it.

[1] An evidence of the Turkish oppression was to be found in the fact that Turkish was the common speech of the Greeks of Nicæa.

[2] A sort of soup-kitchen for free distribution on Fridays.

No society of antiquaries safeguarded the ancient monuments of Nicæa. No masons cleared the old away to make room for the new. Its ruin was the ruin of a city that had been slowly crumbling away for centuries, because its people were dwindling to nothing and because its tyrants rejoiced to see it disappear.

That, I think, was what gave the place an almost eerie fascination. Its decay was the decay of an Indian jungle city.

I shall never forget how, on my first visit in May, 1904, on coming in through the Lefkæ Gate, we saw a Greek boy and girl with ruddy gold hair, such as is not unusual in Bithynia, sitting by the waterfall of Trajan's aqueduct, under a pomegranate with its dark leaves and flaring red flowers. The picture was one of the few I have ever wished to paint. Unhappy children to be Christian and dowried with such beauty in the land where the Turk ruled. What was the fate of such children in August last?

As has been said, there were many things to be seen in Nicæa, but the most interesting were two churches. Each of them was not only worth a visit for its history and itself, but was a parable of political significance.

The one was St. Sophia—nearly every Greek city had its St. Sophia—and, as we should say, was the principal parish-church of the city. Muravieff maintained that it dated from Constantine's time. A shrewd surmise would make us guess that the Isapostolic Emperor founded a St. Sophia as a symbol of the fulfilment of the Divine plan for the Earth, in the City of the Council as well as in New Rome. At any rate it was not later than the seventh century.

The Seventh Council, which at the bidding of Irene settled the Iconoclastic controversy, met within its walls. The Turk seized it in 1330, turned it into a mosque, and, as he has made a half desert of the most fertile country in the world, let it fall into ruins. When I visited it first, sixteen years ago, the roof was gone, and the walls were falling in.

The domes of the sanctuary were still standing, and frescoes and the remains of mosaic were still to be seen. A stark-naked, grey-bearded lunatic, one of the favoured of Allah, had made his lair on the spot where the Holy Table used to stand. Photos of twenty years before showed much more of the building. In 1912 one of the little domes was down, and I could mark the further ruin of the walls.

The Nicæan St. Sophia was emblematic of the Turk's inability to safeguard anything that he has usurped.

The other church was that of the Koimesis, which Djemal has smashed up. Muravieff gave it the same date as he gave St. Sophia, like which it is certainly not later than the seventh century. At any rate it served as the church of the monastery of which Hyakinthus was the founder and first hegumen (abbot) about A.D. 730. In its first dedication its title was that of the Holy Trinity; but at an unknown date,

probably in the ninth century, when it was restored after a severe mishandling by the Iconoclasts, it was rededicated to the Theotokos.

Its structure was the usual square (60 feet by 60 feet) of the earliest Byzantine churches, made up of nave, sanctuary, and narthex, the catechumen's gallery being over the last. The nave was crowned by a great central dome, and the three parts of the sanctuary by smaller domes. In the central apse of the sanctuary was a very remarkable and unique stone synthronos, with the bishop's chair in the centre, and twelve lower seats. Like St. Sophia at Constantinople, its walls were revetted, and its floors laid with precious marbles, which served as frames for its mosaics and made it like a jewel casket.

The great dome of the nave fell, through an earthquake in 1803, and injured the pavement. The Greeks, however, rebuilt it, and it is the cross which stood upon it to which the Metropolitan refers. They could not, however, restore its mosaics. But in the smaller domes of the sanctuary there were mosaics of the seventh century which escaped the Iconoclasts, notably that of the Mother and Child of a very beautiful and unusual type, which the gunshots of the Kemalists have defaced. It is a *tessera* from this mosaic which is set in the silver-gilt chalice recently presented by the Society of the Faith to Westminster Abbey. One has to go to Ravenna to find mosaics of equal age and beauty. In the narthex there were also ninth or tenth century mosaics of great importance, amongst them being one of the Theotokos with outstretched arms in the central dome.

Amongst the other heirlooms of the Koimesis were its altar slab, bearing a cryptographic reference to Hyakinthus, the tomb of an Emperor, the shrine of St. Neophytos, a third-century martyr at Nicæa under Diocletian, a fine ninth-century gospel book and other manuscripts, the fate of which the Metropolitan describes, a bronze tenth-century font for immersion, many ancient candelabra, and so forth. The pulpit was of olive wood, inlaid with ivory and adorned with icons, and certainly older than the eleventh century. The bishop's throne was also very ancient and was surmounted with a mosaic of Christ as the Great High Priest. On the panelling behind the seat was a mosaic Pièta. The iconostasis was less old, but dated from Byzantine times, and was a handsome piece of work. Happily it does not seem to have been altogether destroyed.

Next to its mosaics, the icons were the boast of the Koimesis. Among them—and some were of the earliest period—was a very ancient icon of Christ, and another of the First Council, in which St. Nicholas was depicted as giving Arius his famous box on the ear. I once tried hard, but vainly, to photograph the latter, and do not know whether a photo of it exists. There seems no doubt that all these treasured and priceless icons have been destroyed or irreparably defaced.

There is not much literature about Nicæa. Texier described it in his "Itinéraire de l'Orient"; Diehl has made some references to it; Wulff published a monograph on the mosaics of its church; occasional articles have appeared about it in periodicals. The present Metropolitan, Basileios, printed a valuable little pamphlet upon it in 1912.

If the Greeks had never been enslaved and robbed of their old churches, the Koimesis would still have been one of their chiefest treasures. For is not Nicæa, as the Metropolitan wrote, the very city of Orthodoxy, wherein the foundation was laid of the structure of our faith? And was not the Koimesis the one living monument of Nicæa? In fact, the old church was the one symbolic ancient building of which they had never been despoiled. Therefore, they lavished upon it all the care that they dared, and loved it with a pride of love unspeakable.

To contrast the squalid decay into which its coeval sister, St. Sophia of the Seventh Council, has fallen with its preservation, not only made one draw a lesson as to the unfitness of the Turk to be trusted with the charge of any work of art: it forced one to a conclusion, plain as the walls of Nicæa themselves, that if the Greeks were free again and masters of its destiny, the old prosperity and fame of Bithynia would return to it.

And now Mustapha Kemal has done his work. The Koimesis is wrecked. Within the walls of Nicæa there is utter desolation. Is the city and the land to be left altogether Turkish at last?

OUR PART IN THE FUTURE OF YOUGO-SLAVIA

By the Rev. R. M. FRENCH

A FRIEND of the present writer once remarked that all children should be buried at the age of six and dug up again at sixteen, because, in her opinion, they were not attractive during the intervening period. Happily such a process is not possible, even for the few who might consider it desirable. But if it were, one trembles to think what the position of the exhumed child would be in the world of men and things.

Yet something analogous has taken place in the life of the Serbian nation. It was buried in the fifteenth century, and has recently been dug up again. As a consequence it suffers from a state of arrested development.

It is true that Southern Slav civilization, like the Russian, started late, compared with some of the other European peoples; the Slavs

did not settle in what is now called Serbia until the seventh century A.D., and they were not Christianized till the ninth century. But if we look back into the history of old Serbia, we shall see the figures of men as able and imposing as those of any corresponding period in the history of other nations. There were kings and heroes, lawgivers and saints, who left the impress of their character and work upon Serbian national life. Buildings remain which testify to a vigorous growth of Serbian art, not without characteristics which might have developed into the marks of a distinctive school. And the well-known Southern Slav folk literature is evidence of a richness of thought and imagination which need fear few comparisons.

Then came the Turkish conquest.

One little corner of Southern Slav civilization, however, was not submerged by the Ottoman flood—the Republic of Dubrovnik on the Adriatic coast. And it is interesting to see how life developed there, in freedom.

"The little republic of Dubrovnik, which remained in touch with the outside world, shared in the glories of the Renaissance, and absorbed what was best in Byzantine and Italian culture. Her literary and artistic efflorescence, which M. Ernest Denis considers one of the most remarkable known to history, earned her the name of the Southern Slav Athens."

"The art and architecture of Dubrovnik, and also of her neighbouring port of Trogir (Trau), have been the wonder of travellers. 'The Dalmatian coast,' says Freeman, 'may hold its head high among the artistic regions of the world.' The old palace he describes as 'one of the fairest triumphs of human skill within the range of the builder's art.'"

"From the commercial point of view, Dubrovnik was a miniature Venice, and had trading marts in various Balkan towns. Her shipbuilding yards were to Middle Ages what those of Northumberland and the Clyde are to the world to-day. The most powerful argosies in the Spanish Armada hailed from Dubrovnik, and in 1596 we hear of a naval battle in the Indian Ocean between twelve of her three-masters and a British fleet. From her Latin name, Ragusa, is derived the word 'argosy' (ragosy). . . . Later we hear of Cromwell concluding a commercial treaty with the little republic."

"The municipal organization of Dubrovnik, which had the advantage of starting with a Roman structure, is the wonder of sociologists. In the fourteenth century it had a city police and a sanitary Board, and it claims to have started the first loan bank and the first foundling hospital known to history. In 1415, four centuries before the anti-slavery campaign of Wilberforce, it forbade its people to traffic in slaves, and declared all slaves found on its territory to be free. The

vote of the governing body on this occasion gave a majority of seventy-five out of a total of seventy-eight. They declared that they considered 'such traffic to be base and contrary to all humanity, and to redound to no small disgrace to our city—namely that the human form, made after the image and similitude of our Creator, should be turned to mercenary profit and sold as if it were brute beast.'"

"In 1789 Watkins writes of the inhabitants of Dubrovnik: 'They have more learning and less ostentation than any people I know; more politeness to each other, and less envy. Their hospitality to the stranger cannot possibly be exceeded; in short, their general character has in it so few defects that I do not hesitate to pronounce them (as far as my experience of other people will permit me) the wisest, best, and happiest of States.'"

These quotations are all from Miss Waring's "Serbia," and one more must suffice: "We hear from another traveller in 1805 that Dubrovnik had no secret police nor gendarmes, and a capital sentence pronounced at the time was the first in twenty-five years. The city went into mourning on account of it, and an executioner had to be imported from Turkey."

It all reads like a description of a better world than this.

Napoleon put an end to the theoretical existence of the Republic of Dubrovnik in 1808, and its vigorous life and activity were effectually smothered when it was included in the Austrian Empire in 1815.

Doubtless Dubrovnik was to some extent favoured by its geographical situation, and perhaps by other exceptional circumstances, but here at any rate we see what some of the Southern Slavs could achieve, when allowed to live their own life in peace and freedom, undisturbed by the nightmare of Turkish rule or the hostility of a neighbouring Austria. And it was worth while making these rather long quotations, even in a short article, in order to emphasize the fact.

It is as rash to speculate upon what might have been as it is to prophesy what will be, but it is none the less an attractive occupation. If the story of the Slav community at Dubrovnik has any general significance regarding the inherent capacities of the race, the prospects of Yougoslavia are bright indeed. For now at length the Southern Slavs as a whole have an opportunity to live and develop such as has never been theirs before.

Not that all their desires have been realized, or even that justice has been done them, by the Peace Treaty. But the old Serbia of four million inhabitants has become Yougoslavia with twelve millions. They have an outlet to the sea, and a country immensely rich in natural resources, with waterways of considerable value. Serbia is recovering from the effects of the war more rapidly in many ways than the more complex civilizations of the West: and with the development

of her roads and railways, may confidently look forward to a great economic future.

Above all, the Southern Slavs are now a united and free people. Not quite, but very nearly all the men of Slav race in the south are included in Yougoslavia. And it is significant that in spite of the difficulties caused by the diversity of religious faith (the Croats and Slovenes being prevailingly Roman Catholic), national sentiment appears to be stronger than religious differences, and the southern Slavs seem, so far as can be judged at present, to be settling down together.

And that is a fact, and a very important one, with which Europe will have to reckon. In the years which lie ahead, the character of Yougoslav civilization is likely to be the predominant factor in the Balkan situation. Yougoslavia will be a power to be taken into account in the affairs of Europe: no longer, in all probability, because of "the rights of small nations," but because of the powers of great ones—an even more potent claim to consideration.

Her relations with us will be a matter of no small moment, both politically and commercially, and it is our interest as well as our duty to do all we can to keep those relations as friendly and sympathetic as they are at present. To keep a friend is as good a thing, from all points of view, as to make one. Moreover, Yougoslavia is part of a larger whole—the great Slav race, of which Russia is the most important member. No one, presumably, believes that the present terrible eclipse of Russian national life is the end of the greatness of Russia. With a recovered Russia and a developing Yougoslavia, Slav civilization will be an immense force for good or evil in the life of mankind. And it needs no unusual powers of imagination to foresee that the peace of the world in the future will to a large extent depend upon the establishment and maintenance of friendly relations between the Slav and the Anglo-Saxon races.

It is not intended at the moment to discuss these aspects of the situation in any detail. They are as a matter of fact trite enough. But it is important to remember that the solution of all such problems depends, in the last resort, upon spiritual considerations. The relations which exist between two peoples are in the last analysis a religious matter. Peace and war, friendly intercourse or the reverse, among nations, do not depend ultimately upon diplomatic subtleties, economic bargaining, and territorial adjustments, but upon the character of the people concerned; upon the relation in which they stand to each other spiritually (in the widest sense): upon the degree to which they penetrate into, and appreciate, the mental and religious conditions of each other's life. That is to say, they depend upon religion and education.

The interdependence of the civilized nations of mankind was a

truth we all held, in theory at least, in the past, but in the agony of war and its aftermath it has been accentuated into triteness. We realize vividly enough now that what happens among one people has its effects among the others also.

All of which amounts to saying that the religion and education of Yougoslavia, as the basis of the character of her people, is a matter which concerns us only less intimately than it concerns herself.

That it concerns herself immensely none but a gross materialist would deny, and perhaps not even he.

Yougoslavia is entering upon a critical period in her development. And a friendly onlooker finds himself wondering what the answers to many questions will be. Will Yougoslavia manage to develop her industries and yet escape the worst evils of industrialism, which are the scandal of Western civilization? There are at present no immensely rich and no miserably poor men in Serbia. How long will that continue as the community grows more rich and powerful? Will it involve the disappearance of the peasantry, the present backbone of the Serbian people, as it has practically disappeared in England? Will she remain, as she is now, one of the most democratic of States, or will she, with an increasingly complex organization, degenerate, by the all too common path, into a plutocracy? She will have to perfect her system of education. Is that to approximate to the Continental type, which aims at imparting a maximum of knowledge by instruction, or will it be modelled upon the English type, which, with all its faults, has, at least, this great virtue, that its primary aim is the development of character?

Faced by all these problems and many more, Yougoslavia will naturally look for help and guidance, as well as for warning, to the older civilizations of the West, who have had some experience in attempting their solution, and, often enough, that bitter experience from which it appears that men learn best. She will naturally have her own solutions to offer, and her own contributions to make to the experience of mankind in dealing with the complex problems of civilized life. But in any case she is dependent in the last resort upon the *character* of her sons, and it is religious forces, or the absence of them, which will fundamentally decide the various issues. Not that it is the business of the Christian Church, or of its clergy in their official capacity, to advocate any particular policy or programme in political life, or to identify itself with any social or political party; still less, in any degree to identify the cause of religion with politics. But it is the business of the Christian Church to train the characters of men who will carry out social and political reforms, to produce men of the right kind of moral and spiritual outlook, to whom the conduct of public affairs may safely be entrusted. Not, itself, to endeavour to initiate and

carry through such reforms, but, by teaching upon the fundamental social significances of Christianity, to mould the men who will.

The Orthodox Church in Serbia has always been a powerful influence in the national life of the people. The preservation of that national life through the centuries of darkness and oppression which threatened it with total extinction, has been due to the patriotism of the Serbian Church, acting through its clergy, more than to any other cause. It is safe to say that every movement made by the Serbs during that period, on behalf of freedom or of education, was inspired by their Church. To such an extent was this the case that it is hardly surprising to hear the complaint from devout Serbians to-day, that their clergy are altogether too much concerned with political affairs. The Serbian Church and people have to work out their decision upon the right relations which should exist between religious and political life, and to produce men of such character as will express that decision in their conduct of public affairs. Comparatively few people in England realize the degree and extent of Serbia's suffering during the war, though most men know of the fact in general terms, and England has given generous help for the succour and restoration of her ally. Yet the Southern Slavs themselves recognize that more is needed than the temporary supplies of food and clothing to relieve the acuter forms of material distress. Even more important for the re-establishment of their national life is the reconstruction of the non-material basis of society. The kind of help now needed is that which looks beyond the needs of the moment, and provides for the mental and moral well-being of the people a generation or two to come. And it is this kind of help which the Serbian Church has asked of the Church in England, as we shall see in a moment.

It was precisely in the organizations which make for the building up of national character that Serbia suffered most of all perhaps in the war. Her enemies well knew that in touching the Church they were touching the centre of Serbian life. And the Church suffered accordingly, in her buildings, institutions, and her clergy. There is no need to give details again. We have heard them from Bishop Nicholai Velimerovitch. But a dearth of clergy and of the means of training them is a serious handicap for the Serbian Church at such a moment. Beyond all her needs at the present time, Serbia needs a strong and efficient priesthood, adequate in numbers and well equipped for the task of national character building—well equipped not only in piety and spiritual power, but also intellectually. There is ground to be recovered as well as progress to be made.

We are told that a materialistic view of life is making some headway among the educated middle-classes of Yougoslavia. It is a not uncommon phenomenon in centres of civilization which are comparatively

"young." The writer knows the same thing from personal observation in Russia and Roumania.

A disproportionate emphasis upon education as simply the acquiring of knowledge, or an outstripping of the other human faculties by the intellectual alone, or a veneer of "Western" education upon a culture fundamentally primitive, may lead to the identification of wisdom with general scepticism, to the feeling that a destructively critical attitude towards accepted religious beliefs (and probably other accepted beliefs too) is the only one worthy of an intelligent man, and to the belief that intellectual enlightenment is incompatible with religious faith.

Simple piety, although it must always remain the first and principal desideratum in a priest, is not by itself sufficient to combat this kind of error, and we are told that the level of general education among the Serbian clergy is not high.

Serbia needs a body of priests who have themselves received a "Western" education, and who, as well as being men of prayer and personal holiness, are able to meet materialistic scepticism upon its own ground intellectually; priests who can minister to the souls of their fellow-countrymen through the channel of the intellect if need be.

Men are needed, too, who, having the welfare of their Church and nation at heart, are able to lead and teach and help to train others; with a specialized education not merely in strictly ecclesiastical subjects, but also in other branches of knowledge likely to be closely associated with their future work among those who are to build up national character; subjects such as pedagogy, architecture, iconography, and music.

It is for this that the help of the English Church has been asked, and it is largely with this purpose in view that a number of Serbian ordinands have been sent to Oxford.

The origin of this scheme is to be found in an acute and temporary distress caused by the war. St. Sava's Seminary at Belgrade was, of course, emptied of its students when the country was overrun by its enemies. If these ordinands were lost to the priesthood, or if their time of training were to be indefinitely postponed, there seemed to be no means of averting a disastrous shortage of priests when the Serbians regained their country and began to reconstruct their lives.

Under these serious circumstances, the request was made to the Archbishop of Canterbury that these seminarists, some of whom were mere boys, might be transferred to England, and provision made for them to continue their studies here.

It was a proposal that there could be no hesitation on our part in accepting. How the project was successfully carried out and the continuity of St. Sava's Seminary assured, has already been made public in the pages of the CHRISTIAN EAST. It was an attempt to grapple

with an urgent temporary necessity, and when the task was fulfilled this temporary work came to an end. When it became possible, these boys, with a few exceptions, returned to Serbia. But out of it has grown what is hoped will be a permanent scheme.

Already in 1916 five picked Serbian theological students had been brought over to England and lodged in St. Stephen's House, Oxford, as undergraduate members of the University. Here they were joined at various times by others, who were selected as the most promising students for the purpose, from the large group of St. Sava's seminarists above referred to. And in October, 1919, five new students came direct from Yougoslavia to Oxford.

The permanent scheme proposed is that we should welcome to Oxford a continuous stream of these men, quite small in numbers and of carefully selected quality; that they should have the opportunity of acquiring a higher education, such as we ourselves most prize; that they should at the same time see and learn as much as possible of the English Church and of English life, and absorb what they can of what is good in them; that they may profit from our successes and take warning from our failures.

Their academic training is under the supervision of a strong committee in Oxford, presided over by the Regius Professor of Divinity, and their course of study planned out by agreement with their own ecclesiastical authorities, who entrusted them to the care of the English Church for the necessary time. It was decided that the students should read for the degree of Bachelor of Letters, that each of them should be under a tutor in the same way as an English undergraduate, that he should attend such courses of lectures as were chosen for him by his tutor, and that he should each term offer at least one written paper or essay for examination.

The original five students have completed their course, presented their theses, and returned to Serbia. The degree was obtained by four of them, whose theses were of a high order of merit—one of them earning the congratulations of the examiners. Among the subjects chosen were different periods of Serbian Church History, "The Reformation in England in relation to the Continental Reformation," and "The Religious Philosophy of Soloyëv." At the present time there are thirteen Serbian theological students at Oxford. They are members of the non-collegiate body, and reside together in the Hostel of St. Sava and St. George, with an English priest as Principal. Now if the statements put forward in the earlier part of this article are at all true, it is easy to see that a work of this kind is likely to produce results out of all proportion to the present modest scale of its operation. It offers the kind of assistance which Yougoslavia most profoundly needs, by helping her to strengthen and inspire the sources

of national life and character. Limited as the quantitative aspect of the effort may be, if it is successful, its effects will be seen, not only in the future character of Southern Slav civilization, but also in the relations which are to exist between it and this country.

Nor is this the only aspect of the case. To many of us, incomparably the most hopeful direction in which to look for the beginnings of a reunited Catholic Christendom is to the increasingly close and cordial intercourse between the Orthodox Church of the East and our own Church here in England.

This is not the place to embark upon the reasons for cherishing this belief, or to set out the evidence, which has rapidly accumulated in recent years, that there is a substantial basis of achieved result upon which to rest the hope of its realization.

The need for such reunion is admitted on all hands. The East is at least as much alive to it as we are, and the Serbian Church not the least so among the members of the Orthodox Church. That is to say, a certain section, though unhappily still a small section, of the Church in both countries is alive to the need of reunion. If it were realized by Churchpeople as a whole, naturally the thing would be done. The technical difficulties would be overcome, probably with an ease and rapidity which would astound us. Indeed, much more has been accomplished in this direction by theological experts, whose business it is, than is generally known. The greatest obstacle is the prevailing ignorance of each other's life, which is profound on both sides; and the diversity of form characteristic both of personal religion and of theological outlook in East and West. In spite of great advances in recent years, to the vast majority of English people the Slav temperament and Slav religion are a sealed book. And no doubt ours are equally mysterious to them.

It is difficult to conceive of any method of work more likely to bear fruit, or proceeding upon sounder lines, in remedying this state of affairs than the scheme here referred to.

These Serbians at St. Sava's Hostel in Oxford live for two or three years in England, learn our language, and grow accustomed to our modes of thought and life. All possible help is given them, intellectually and devotionally, in their task of fitting themselves to become loyal, devoted, and able priests of their own communion, and at the same time opportunity is provided for them to understand and sympathize with our own efforts and ideals.

During the University vacations they are scattered over England, not merely for the sake of holiday, but that they may become acquainted with varying aspects of English life, and see the English Church in action, in town and country parishes, religious houses, or theological colleges.

If these men make good and justify the confidence and hope placed in them by their Church authorities, they will return in due course to occupy, no doubt, positions of influence among their own people, whether as simple parish priests or in posts of more exalted rank, with authority of wider scope. England, her people, and her religion will no longer be to them an academic abstraction, but a reality of which they have had experience and with which they will feel ties of sympathy and friendship. They will interpret us to others of their fellow-countrymen, and hand on to them some measure of the feeling and knowledge about us which they themselves possess.

This is not likely to be an unmixed eulogy; but the more honest and sincere it is, the greater will be its value and the more fruitful its effect.

Before the war, the most promising of Yougoslav ordination candidates used to go for University training to Germany, Russia, or Switzerland. Now they have come to Oxford, and we welcome them, and hope that the custom will continue.

In these men, and through them, we have a unique opportunity of working for the establishment of closer relations between the two Churches, a means of helping Serbia to reconstruct her war-ruined national life upon the basis of religion and education. And it is no exaggeration to say that through them we have our share in moulding the future character of Southern Slav civilization, and influencing issues even wider still.

If this contention is true, it provides abundant justification for closing this article with an appeal for funds to maintain St. Sava's Hostel in being. When Serbian ecclesiastical property is released from State control, under which it was placed during the war, and when it is again permissible to send any large sums of money out of the country, the Serbian Church is prepared to pay the necessary expenses herself. Until then the Hostel is dependent entirely upon the offerings of those who appreciate its value.

This country has poured out vast sums to relieve the immediate material necessities of our Southern Slav allies. It will hardly be thought that the claim upon us is less strong to furnish assistance in spiritual things; and, in comparison, the sum required is small indeed.

Not more than £3,000 a year is needed; but it is needed urgently.

Contributions will be gratefully acknowledged by the present writer, at St. Sava's Hostel, Oxford; or by the Treasurer, Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton at 27, Finsbury Square, E.C. 2.

ARMENIA

By the Rev. HAROLD BUXTON

BEFORE proceeding to deal with Armenian Christianity some account of the different peoples of Armenia and Kurdistan may not be out of place.

The race question is acute in Armenia as in many other parts of Turkey, but it has been rendered infinitely more severe than it need have been by the policy of the Government at Constantinople. Here are two races living side by side, the Armenians, a settled, the Kurds, a nomadic people. The economic tie between the Armenians as cultivators and as traders and the Kurds as stock-raisers might have brought about a natural reconciliation of the two peoples, but a trade boycott of the Christians and secret religious propaganda among the Kurds were used to stir up fanaticism and to drive in a wedge between them. Furthermore, the distribution of arms among the Kurds prepared the way for the forcible transplantation of the Armenians to Mesopotamia in 1915.

In regard to the Turks we quote the following passage from Professor Harvey Porter, of the American College, Beirut. The Turks, he writes, "are not all Ottomans by descent; probably the larger number are descendants of the Seljuks and other Turkish clans who immigrated into Asia Minor both before and after the Ottomans. . . . The Ottomans were few when they invaded the empire (Othman or Osman I. reigned from A.D. 1288), but they increased rapidly by absorbing other clans and by taking women of their captives into their harems. . . . This increase was at the expense of the purity of the race, so that the Ottomans of to-day are of decidedly mixed blood."

Again, "The language reflects the mixed character of the race. The grammatical structure is Turkish, but the vocabulary is chiefly Arabic and Persian, with a mixture of other dialects."

The Armenians originally occupied the north-eastern portion of Asia Minor. The traveller in Armenia to-day may readily detect both an Aryan and a Semitic type of physiognomy among the Armenian peasantry and would be led to deduce a mixture of these elements. It appears to be established that the original indigenous population of the plateau (proto-Armenian), which contained both Assyrian and Jewish elements, was first conquered by and then fused with the Aryan peoples (Scythians and Cimmerians), who invaded the Caucasus and Armenia in the seventh century B.C. These elements, together with the bracing climate of a highland home, have contributed to produce a remarkably vigorous and virile stock, and a people who have maintained a distinct national consciousness for 2,500 years, although for the greater part

of that period without political unity and in spite of bitter and long-continued persecution.

The language of these Aryan invaders almost completely displaced the language of the original population. From the seventh century B.C. onwards the language of the Armenians is predominantly Indo-European, although it has borrowed from the Persian.

The Armenian alphabet was constructed by Mesrop by order of the Patriarch Sahak about A.D. 404. Mesrop followed the Greek rather than the Syrian forms. Armenian is therefore written from left to right, not, like Oriental languages, from right to left. It has thirty-six letters, including a separate symbol for each of the vowels. Writing of the characteristics of the Armenians, Lord Bryce has said: "Among the peoples of Western Asia the Armenians are unquestionably the strongest; and what I have seen of them both in their own country and in America, where many of them have sought refuge and secured prosperity, leads me to believe them to be, in point of industry, intellect, and energy, the equals of any of the European races."

The Kurds, to quote again from Professor Harvey Porter, "are regarded as one of the Scythian stock and identified with the Carduchi mentioned by Xenophon, who dwelt in the northern portion of the Assyrian Empire and were given to raiding and plundering much as the mountain Kurds of the present. . . . They number more than a million and a half and are all Moslems, largely nomadic still, but many are pastoral and dwell in villages." Their most flourishing period was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when Saladin and his successors, of the Ayyubite line, made them famous. They came under the sway of the Ottomans when Selim I. defeated the Persians in A.D. 1514. Idris, the Kurdish historian, installed the tribal system which has continued down to the present day.

The language of the Kurds is Aryan, with a considerable mixture of Semitic and Turanian elements. Kurds have sought instruction both in Armenian and in American missionary schools and have shown a fair amount of intellectual ability.

In religion, the Kurds mostly adhere to the Shiah branch of the Mohammedan faith, but a large proportion (perhaps one-third) of them are Kizilbashis ("redheads"), heretical Moslems with pro-Christian leanings, who are hated by the Sunni Turks almost as if they were Christians. To a large extent it is true that the Kurds are the victims of a cruel fate which has debased the fundamental gold of human nature. But, in reality, there are few, if any, signs of the Kurds showing any constructive ability. Internal strife among the various clans absorbs as much energy as the war upon their neighbours. The absence of a written language precludes the spread of ideas among them.

Certain other peoples scattered throughout the regions of Armenia and Kurdistan must be mentioned here.

The Nestorians, Syro-Chaldæans, or Assyrians are a Christian people, largely Semitic by physical descent, who inhabit the eastern portion of Kurdistan and the western shores of Lake Urumia. Their Patriarch, Mar Shimun, is not only religious leader, but acts as national chieftain of the Nestorian people. They are subdivided into smaller tribes, such as the Jelus and others. They have manifested a great desire for education, to meet which the Archbishop of Canterbury has maintained a mission among them at Kotchanis and at Urumia for the past forty years. They have a capacity for culture which indicates that they would play a leading part in the reconstruction of the land if not too much reduced by war. They have had an eminent representative recently in London, the Lady Surma, who is sister of the late Patriarch and aunt of the present Patriarch.

The Yezidis are hardly to be distinguished from the Kurds. Their headquarters are at Jebel Sinjar, east of Mosul, although they may be met with almost anywhere throughout the region. They are often called "Devil-worshippers" for want of a better description. The fact is that no one has yet given an adequate study to their obscure beliefs and rites.

The Circassians, or Cherkesses, had their original home in the Caucasus, whence they emigrated into the Turkish Empire rather than submit to the Russians. The defence of their independence under their chief Shamyl brought them prominently to the notice of Europeans. Being Moslems, they were readily received by the Porte, and settled in Asia Minor, where they are widely dispersed.

The Lazis are mostly confined to their own country of Lazistan, between Trebizond and Batum. They are akin to the Georgians of Transcaucasia, but are Moslems and not Christians, and are of altogether lower grade than their kinsfolk of the Caucasus.

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Turning now to the question of our own relations to Armenia, it is gratifying to note in this country an increasing apprehension of the *moral* issue at stake. For the moral issue transcends the ecclesiastical. Let us say frankly: it is not because they are Christians that we are bound in honour to succour and defend the Armenians. It is because, in Turkey, they are men and women treated as cattle, human beings without ordinary human rights; because, in Europe and America, they are cynically betrayed by those very statesmen who so recently made the most solemn assurances of friendship and of help; it is for these reasons that we are bound in honour to defend their cause. Moreover, they are by nature a fine, cleanly people, able and industrious, and in lands outside

Turkey (*e.g.*, in Russia, Egypt, U.S.A.) have produced men prominent in many walks of life—doctors, soldiers, diplomatists, artists, and authors.

The situation at this moment is cruel in the extreme. Many months after the Armistice the remnant of these people is still being decimated by famine, disease, and massacre. In Adana, in Tarsus, and Mersina I have been a recent witness of these things. I have seen the vast camps of homeless refugees spread out for miles on the Cilician plain. Dirt and squalor, hunger and fear, lack of employment or the decencies of home are making rapid inroads into the life, moral and physical, of these people. What will happen? In Russian Armenia—*i.e.*, in the Armenian Republic at the foot of Mount Ararat—surely there, at least, they have security and provision for their elementary needs? No; for recent reports from British agents there tell the same tale—they are waiting for help which, often promised, never arrives. Whatever happens, however, one cannot help feeling that in some condition Armenia will survive. Armenia has seen the rise and fall of countless "Powers"; who knows, perhaps she will survive the present Great Powers of Europe and America also?

There is a theory that the Armenians are all usurers, aud resemble the baser type of Jew. There are usurers among them, but those of us who have travelled in Turkish Armenia are well aware that these constitute but a fraction of the people. In Turkish Armenia before the war 65 per cent. of the Armenians were smallholders. The rest were mostly skilled labourers and craftsmen managing their home industries of weaving, bootmaking, smith's work, carpet-making, etc. Commercial and professional elements were stronger than among the Turks, but did not amount to over 10 per cent. of the total.

There is another theory that the Armenian is a coward. It is high time that this theory was exploded. It is an ignorant and a malicious theory. Ask the officers who went to Baku with the Dunsterville force, and they will tell you that the stories of Armenian treachery and cowardice were a tissue of lies, spread abroad (with official sanction) for a political purpose.

We associate Armenia with tragedy and misfortune. Inevitably! Yet let us remember that there is a beauty, a richness, a vitality in the life of Armenia of which few of us indeed are yet aware. No one should form an estimate of the Armenian until he has at least given his careful attention to a book,[1] "Armenian Legends and Poems," illustrated and compiled by Zabelle Boyajian, with a contribution on Armenian history and literature by Arám Raffi. Would that this book were as widely known as it deserves to be! There is a source of much delight in store for those who are fortunate enough to

[1] Published by J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd. 1916.

obtain a copy. Armenian literature had its origin under the intoxicating atmosphere and lustre of ancient Asia; it is infused with voluptuous reveries, with slow and gentle melancholy, with delicious rapture which suggests the marvellous moonlight that is seen there, the wondrous dawn and glorious sunsets, the nights scintillating with stars in their boundless expanse. But across this impress of the East there is a certain moderation, a clearness, a purity in Armenian thought, which marks it as distinctively Christian. The Armenians are almost entirely unfettered by the doctrine of fatalism which lies at the root of the mentality of those Oriental races who surround them on all sides. They are through and through inoculated with the Christian idea of freedom and self-determinism, and this has never failed to colour their very beautiful artistic and literary works.

The Armenian Church is called Gregorian after St. Gregory the Illuminator, who converted the Armenian King Tiridates (A.D 301). But in fact Christianity was implanted in Armenia much earlier, possibly before the end of the first century. We are accustomed to think of Palestine as separated from Armenia by a vast track of desert, but the region has only become a desert under misgovernment, and in the first century there must have been comparatively easy access between the Holy Land and Armenia through such prosperous cities as Edessa (Urfa) and Nisibis. Hence the missionary zeal of the Apostolic age would naturally find scope for activity in this direction, and we are not surprised to find a tradition that both SS. Bartholomew and Thaddæus preached the Gospel in Armenia, and suffered martyrdom there.

Any complete account of Armenian Christianity would necessarily embrace much detail relating to all three sections into which Armenians are divided—Gregorian, Roman Catholic, and Evangelical. According to Archbishop Ormanian, the late Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, the relative proportions of these sections were as follows:

Gregorians	3,472,000
Catholic	136,000
Evangelical	47,000

[1] For further reference any of the following may be obtained without difficulty in London:

"The Armenian Church," by Archdeacon Dowling, D.D. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1910. 3s. 6d.

"The Armenian Liturgy." Cope and Fenwick. 5s. 6d. net.

"The Key of Truth (Paulicians)," by Professor F. C. Conybeare. Oxford, 1898.

"The Church of Armenia: Her History, Doctrine, Rule, Discipline, Liturgy, Literature, and Existing Condition," by Mgr. Malachia Ormanian. Translated by G. Marcar Gregory, V.D. 36, Gunterstone Road, West Kensington, London, W. 6s. net (postage 5d.).

"The Church and Faith of Armenia," by Right Rev. Dr. Abrahamian. The Faith Press. 1s. 6d.

I wish that there were space here to tell of the great work of the Latin and of the American missionaries. But we must confine ourselves to a brief account of the National (Gregorian) Church. Let us hear what the Armenian Vardapet, Dr. Abrahamian, has to say (*a*) as regards the organization and rule of the Armenian Church:

"First of all it should be emphasized that the organization and the rule of the Armenian Church of the present day have emanated, not from the activities of an ecclesiastical legislative body, but from the history of the Armenian nation. From that history have originated and established themselves the fundamental principles thanks to which the Armenian Church has become to-day a *national and democratic* organization. The Armenian Church is national because it embraces in itself the whole nation. It is democratic because its supreme power belongs to the Armenian nation, to the lay and the ecclesiastical elements taken together. It is interesting to note that the Armenian nation is the custodian of not only the purely administrative prerogatives of the Church, but it also has a voice in doctrinal (non-dogmatic) questions as well. To our mind it will not be erroneous to state that in this respect the Armenian Church stands alone and radically differs from the ancient Eastern Churches."

Again, (*b*) as regards doctrine, sacraments, and Liturgy:

In order to understand both the conservatism of the Armenian Church in dogmatic matters and its tolerance, we must acquaint ourselves with its conception of dogma and doctrine, which is so clearly presented by the Armenian Archbishop, Ormanian, in his work entitled "The Church of Armenia" (pp. 98-104):

"The dogma is a proposition drawn from the sacred books and expressed in the formula which is both clear and distinct. It should be accepted by the followers of a given Church, on pain of estrangement from the bosom of that Church. The doctrine is a statement or explanation, equally drawn from the sacred books and corroborated by tradition. Consequently, it may be accepted as an assertion which is sound and positive, or it may be quasipositive; but it imposes no obligation on the faithful to comply with it absolutely. In any case they cannot be shut out of the Church unless they deny her. The dogma is the teaching of the Church: the doctrine is but the statement of the school. Dogmas belong to religion; doctrines to theology.

"The ancient Churches referred to the authority of Œcumenical Councils all beliefs which were in question, in order that any difficulty raised in connection with the dogma might be solved. That rule has never ceased to be rigorously observed from the early centuries until our present time.

"We have said that the Œcumenical Councils were the official source from which emanated the dogmas of the ancient Churches.

The Latin Catholic, otherwise the Roman, Church is the one which has known best how to turn that tradition to account. She accepts as valid twenty Œcumenical Councils, beginning with the one of Nicæa, in the fourth, and ending with the Vatican Council in the nineteenth century. The Byzantine, otherwise the Greek Orthodox, Church ceased sooner to lay down dogmatic decisions. She accepts as valid only seven Councils, the second of Nicæa, which was held in the eighth century, being the final of the series. The Armenian Church is even more radical in this respect. She acknowledges as lawful only the first three, which were equally recognized by both the Latins and the Greeks. She denies the Œcumenical character of the remaining four, against the views of the Greeks and the Latins, and of the thirteen which are accepted by the Latins alone. The Councils of the Armenians are those of Nicæa and of Constantinople, held in the fourth, and that of Ephesus, in the fifth century."

After the dogmatical principle comes the doctrine of the Sacraments. Like the Roman and Greek Churches, the Armenian Church accepts seven Sacraments—viz.: Baptism, Confirmation, Communion, Confession, Ordination, Marriage, and Extreme Unction.

The *Liturgy* of the Armenian Church is derived from that of St. Basil of Cæsarea.

Dr. Abrahamian further continues:

"That the Armenian Church is in need of reform is obvious; that some of its rites and ceremonies, which have been kept unchanged for centuries, do not respond to modern requirements, everyone knows; that the standard of education for the Armenian clergy should be raised is the desire of every Armenian; and that all Armenian prelates have realized the deficiencies of their Church is evident from the fact that whenever favourable conditions have been secured the Armenian Catholicos has initiated reform. Within our own memory such an opportunity has occurred. Immediately after the Russian Revolution, 1917, before the advent of Bolshevism, the present Catholicos, George V., summoned a congress in Etchmiadzin to consider the project of the revision of the Constitution of the Armenian Church. This proves two things—viz.: (1) That, in order to bring about a radical reform of the Armenian Church, it is necessary that Armenia should have a normal political life—in other words that she be independent. (2) That reform should begin from within, not without. If our friends wish to accomplish true Christian work, they must take this point of view and work in this direction.

"The Armenian Church has among its clergy a number of members who, having been educated in Europe, have made a first-hand study of European Christianity, past and present. These, being well acquainted with the psychology of the Armenian nation and its

surrounding conditions, are well qualified to solve the problem of the reformation of the Armenian Church. When they have achieved their ends, in a free Armenia, our Western friends will see that the reformed Armenian Church will be in a state to render signal service, not only within the boundaries of the Armenian nation, but among a number of surrounding non-Christian peoples whom the Western missionaries do not approach."

By the liberation of Armenia, the Armenian Church will be enabled to cultivate such friendships and form such connections as are necessary for all Eastern Churches. Moreover, as the most eastward outpost of Christendom, they should prove peculiarly valuable for penetrating the heathenism and Mohammedanism of Central Asia.

I close with an extract from a letter from an Armenian of Cilicia, dated April, 1920:

"Our firm conviction is that there is one nation that stands *first* in the duty and privilege and capacity of preaching the Gospel to the Turks, and that is the Armenian. Through the past six centuries we have studied the language of the Turks, their customs, and their moral weaknesses as well as their strength, and we understand their mentality. We have been continually subjected to their oppressive rule, we have been massacred by them, we have been exposed to even worse treatment than massacre.

"As the Saviour, despised by the world and crucified and risen from the dead, held the right to proclaim the truth and be proclaimed throughout the world, the Armenian must be acknowledged as without competitor in the work of evangelizing the Turk. However, there is one condition, and that condition is the resurrection of the Armenian nation. If this may not be with the goodwill of the Allied Powers, they must at least acknowledge that this nation has been walking in the valley of the shadow of death, and massacred even under the folds of the tricolor, the significance of which is 'liberty, equality and fraternity.' The nation must be raised and reconstructed for noble service. We do not ask if this is possible. We have faith in God that He is not only able but willing to vouchsafe new life to this people that, while at the door of death, is yet alive, unwilling to die, and is wrestling with death and for new life."

Let us continually lift up our voices to God for the raising up, "for noble service," of the Armenian people.

THE EASTERN ORTHODOX AND ANGLICAN ORDERS

By Rev J. A. DOUGLAS

THE Editor suggests that I should give an account of a recent controversy between Dr. Adrian Fortescue and myself in the *Tablet* on the attitude of the Eastern Orthodox Church towards Anglican Orders. The value that he sees in such an account is that it may serve to make that attitude more easy of comprehension to the ordinary reader, and may help to correct the impression made upon susceptible Anglican readers by Dr. Fortescue's books and similar propagandist writings.

The occasion of our controversy was an unsigned article, entitled "Communicatio in Concione," in the issue of the *Tablet* for March 1, 1920, which professed to establish an equal justification on Anglican principles for the preaching of the Congregationalist Dr. Jowett in Durham Cathedral, and for the preaching of the Serbian Bishop Velimirovic in St. Paul's.

Certain sentences in this article when taken as a whole appeared to me to present a distorted view of the Eastern Orthodox Church, but when examined clause by clause, and taken in one of their possible meanings, to be individually defensible. In one, however, the writer had been led by his zeal into a serious overstatement. He had written of Bishop Velimirovic: "His Church formally rejects Anglican Orders, and shows this in the most efficient way by reordaining without condition any Anglican clergyman who may wish to become an Orthodox priest." That sentence contained a *non sequitur* which is amazing to anyone possessed of even a slight knowledge of Orthodox theology: for the reordination of a heterodox priest by the Orthodox is not necessarily an evidence of the rejection of his Orders.

The reference to the "reordaining Anglican clergymen" and the "without condition" seemed also likely to give a casual reader the very false impression that a rule had been formulated, that there were plentiful precedents of its being observed, and that the invalidity of our Orders was held to be so well established that a conditional reordination was out of the question.[1]

The facts, however, are that no action in the matter has been concerted by the Œcumenical Patriarchate with the other autocephalous

[1] A Committee of the Russian Synod ended their observations (published 1904) on the American Prayer-Book: "As regards the reception of clergy from Anglicanism, the Committee has proposed (pending a final judgment by the Church) to offer to those who join a new conditional ordination."

Churches, that (so far as I can ascertain) only five Anglican priests have been reordained, that these reordinations were sporadic and decided upon without reference to the Œcumenical Patriarchate, and that conditional reordination is unknown in Orthodox practice, such a reservation being held unnecessary, the ordinary rite being used in doubtful cases and, as I will show later, the reordination of heterodox priests being held invariably necessary, except in the case of those Churches the acceptance of whose priests in their Orders has been decided on explicitly by the exercise of economy. The rest of the article formed a similar clever mosaic.

Distorted, however, though the impression given by it was, I should not have rushed into print to correct it if my attention had not been drawn to it by a friend, who asked me whether the "formally rejects" of the sentence quoted was correct.

That, of course, was one of the stings, if not the sting, of the whole article. The Papacy has investigated Anglican Orders and has condemned them. The Eastern Orthodox Church has also weighed them and found them wanting. And yet the Papacy accepts Orthodox Orders, and the Orthodox makes reciprocal acknowledgment. What is left to a timid Anglican to do?

My friend was not of the sort to be swayed by that sort of suggestiveness. Happily for him, he can conceive no doubt as to the validity of his Orders. But doubtless, or the article would not have been written, there are Anglican readers of the *Tablet* who, in these days of Mansfield and Kikuyu, are liable to lose their heads and rush along the path which the writer was eager to recommend.

Therefore I thought it worth while to write to the *Tablet*, and to point out that the "formally rejects" was an absurd overstatement, and that *the Eastern Orthodox Church neither accepts nor rejects our Orders.*

In fact it has never formally examined them at all, and has made no decision whatever upon them.

At the same time I pointed out that since some of the Eastern Orthodox hold that the grace of the Sacraments is defectible,[1] the reordination of Anglican priests, and, for that matter, of Anglican Baptism, is explicable as a safeguard, and does not imply their rejection, formal or otherwise. I added that there had been Greeks who even said that, on his reconciliation to Orthodoxy, the Pope himself would need to submit to Baptism.

[1] Not a very good term, and one which, on the whole, the Eastern Orthodox dislike, and which most of them now repudiate, but often used by Western writers to describe their position. Dr. Fortescue, whose statements in his "Orthodox Eastern Church," pp. 421, 423, are incorrect, did not take exception to my use of it. If he had challenged it, I should have admitted it to have been accurate only of a few theologians.

Further, I urged that, while I did not deduce any formal recognition of our Orders from the authorization given by Orthodox bishops to their people's seeking the Sacraments in emergency from Anglican priests, I should be as much justified in doing so as the writer in the *Tablet* in deducing their formal rejection from the few precedents of reordination.

My letter was answered by Dr. Fortescue, who avowed the authorship of the article entitled "Communicatio in Concione," and while not repeating its "formally rejects," wrote as follows: "They must have some rule in practice for the case of Anglican clergymen. They have such a rule with no exceptions; they treat these as laymen, and ordain them priests just as we do. There are not very many instances of this, because conversions of this kind do not often occur. When they do occur, ordination always takes place, if the convert wants to be a priest. It shows in the plainest and most practical way possible that the Orthodox Church does not recognize Anglican Orders as valid. Moreover, the Orthodox have always said so. They said so at the Bonn Conferences in 1874 and 1875; their theologians who discuss the question deny Anglican Orders (Philaret, Bulgakoff, Andrutsos, Maltzew, Sokoloff, Mesoloras, etc.). In 1907 the Patriarch of Jerusalem made a formal statement 'that many various reasons do not allow the Eastern Orthodox Church to accept their validity.' But the fact of ordination in the case of convert clergymen is the best, the final, proof that the Orthodox Church does not recognize Anglican Orders. She has not formally declared these Orders invalid; she formally refuses to recognize them as valid."

This letter reminded me of the French tramp who made soup out of a stone by borrowing various ingredients from the expectant farmer's wife. There is hardly a sentence in it which does not contain a highly questionable inference from its predecessor, or is not so phrased as to suggest something different from the reality. Thus the refusal of the Easterns at Bonn[1] to recognize Anglican Orders was assuredly delivered on the sole ground that they had not been formally examined, and was expressed as provisional, while the description of Eastern theologians as "denying" Anglican Orders might well give a lexicographer another shade of meaning to catalogue under that word. In fact, of the writers he names, Maltzew alone goes so far as to say that our Orders are "at the very least doubtful," and the others, while they suspend their judgment, are inclined to be provisionally favourable. On the other hand, Damalas, Ambrazi, Guettee, Sokoloff, Basileides, Stramoyski, and others have held them valid. With such stages, and with the quoting of a "formal" statement of the Patriarch of Jerusalem as to their non-acceptance, Dr. Fortescue proceeded to fix the crown on his edifice, and

[1] See quotation below from Androutsos.

blandly deduced that though the Orthodox Church "has not formally declared these Orders invalid, she formally refuses to recognize them as valid."

Having thus—though without withdrawing his "formally rejects"—found a less perilous but, as will appear, a no less erroneous formula, he went on to use it as his text by adding, "It is not true that the only reason why the Orthodox Church refuses to recognize Anglican Orders is the heresy and schism of Anglicans. This reason counts among those who deny all valid Sacraments outside the true Church. But their theologians have many other reasons—that the Anglicans are a Protestant sect which denies the Sacrament of Holy Orders and the Eucharistic Sacrifice, that their form of ordination is invalid, and so on (Maltzew, Andrutsos, etc.). The Pope would be rebaptized if he were to turn Orthodox on the principles of those who deny all Sacraments outside the true Church—of course, if they were consistent."

In this, again, every sentence can be defended only in its minimum sense. The Orthodox Church has not only never pronounced upon our Orders, but she has not even formally declared us to be in heresy. Some of her theologians have expressed doubt, all require assurances; but, so far as I know, only one Orthodox theologian has concluded that we deny the Sacrament of Orders and the Eucharistic Sacrifice. What Andrutsos says will be seen below. Further, the Orthodox do not "deny all Sacraments outside the true Church," nor are they in the least whit inconsistent in accepting the Baptism and Orders of converts from those heterodox Churches which after investigation they have pronounced to be questionable but not certainly rendered invalid by heresy.

To thresh all these matters out in the *Tablet* would have been impossible. Moreover, I did not intend to follow Dr. Fortescue's pen away from his "formally rejects." I contented myself, therefore, with this answer: "I wrote in the first place to point out what I took to be a slip in his 'Communicatio in Concione'—viz., the categoric statement that the Orthodox Church 'rejects our Orders.' In doing so I gave my reasons for thinking that if he had written 'does not recognize' he would have been more accurate. I find, however, that in answer to my letter he stands to his guns. When he began to define the Orthodox attitude, having quite rightly deduced from reordinations of Anglican priests that the Orthodox Church 'does not recognize' our Orders, he goes on, 'the Orthodox have always said so. They said so at the Bonn Conference in 1874 and 1875.' With that I have only a little quarrel. He glides on, however, quite wrongly, to add, 'their theologians who discuss the question deny Anglican Orders (Philaret, Bulgakoff, Andrutsos, Maltzew, Sokoloff, Mesoloras, etc.).' With that I have every quarrel, and venture to refer him to a book which he must acknowledge as conclusive—viz., Fortescue, 'The Orthodox Eastern

Church,' from which (pages 261 and 262) I transcribe, 'At the Old Catholic Conference at Bonn in 1874 the Orthodox members refused to pass the § 9B—"We acknowledge that the Church of England and the Churches derived through her have maintained unbroken the Episcopal succession." None of them absolutely denied the thesis, but they said that Anglican Orders are doubtful and appealed to the opinion of Philaret as supporting this view.' And again, 'Bulgakoff of Kiev thinks that Anglicans have a succession of Orders, but doubts whether heresy has not extinguished its effect.' I may point out in passing that the doubt expressed by Bulgakoff as to the effect of heresy leads other Orthodox theologians to include Roman Orders in the same uncertainty as our own." To this Dr. Fortescue replied on April 27: "Perhaps I can state the position of the Orthodox Church with regard to Anglican Orders yet more clearly. There are four possible attitudes in this matter: (1) Officially to recognize Orders as valid; (2) to declare them certainly invalid; (3) to express no opinion either way, leaving it an entirely open question; (4) to refuse to acknowledge the Orders as valid, to act always as if they were not, while not committing one's self officially to the statement that they are certainly invalid. This last is, in my opinion, the attitude of the Orthodox authorities. This is what I have always meant by the expressions 'does not recognize,' 'refuses to recognize,' 'rejects,' and so on. Not all the theologians I quoted go as far as to deny the validity of Anglican Orders; some merely refuse to recognize them as valid. But others, notably Maltzew and Andrutsos, so discuss the question as to leave no doubt that their conclusion is definitely against validity. However, it is hardly possible to say for certain that in a large body of clergy none have received valid ordination. For one thing, there is always the possibility of infiltration through such people as de Dominis. What a Church can declare is that it cannot recognize the Orders as valid, that the rite is insufficient, that in practice such ordinations must be treated as of no value (in the matter of holy orders we must be tutiorists). This seems to me to represent the Pope's decision. It is also the attitude of the Orthodox Church, though not so plainly declared by them. Of course it is possible that the Orthodox may reconsider the matter and change their minds."

To be frank, I was surprised that Dr. Fortescue should have classed the Pope's decision under his fourth heading, but if he had summarized his own Church correctly, he had altogether misrepresented the Eastern Orthodox Church. I noted, however, with admiration that, though without admission, he had divested himself of his "*formally* rejects," and answered: "The statements are not tantamount. None the less I might well be content to record that when Dr. Fortescue writes that the Orthodox Church '*formally refuses to recognize*,' '*denies*' or '*formally*

rejects' our Orders he simply means that she '*refuses to acknowledge them as valid and acts always as if they were not, while not committing herself to the statement that they are valid.*' Apart, however, from the fact that '*refuses*' is another large overstatement, the '*always*' in '*acts always as if they were invalid*' is incorrect. For, seeing that Orthodox bishops not only bid their flocks on emergency to seek Communion from Anglican priests but actually ask Anglican bishops to authorize its administration to them, it cannot be said that the 'Orthodox Church' '*acts always*' as if our Orders were invalid.[1] Indeed, if Dr. Fortescue is bold to deduce from the reordination of a few Anglican priests a formal and categoric condemnation of our Orders, could he blame me for deducing (which I do not) their formal and categoric vindication of them by the acceptance of our sacerdotal ministrations? He cannot have it both ways."

In reply to this and to my next letter Dr. Fortescue simply reiterated his statement in the slightly varied form (perhaps the "as such" contained a qualification) that "the Orthodox Church, as such, formally refuses to acknowledge (in other words, rejects) Anglican Orders." In so doing he simply quoted from Maltzew and Overbeck.[2]

On May 26, however, he advanced for the first time evidence which, if accurate, might be taken as corroborative of his "*formally* rejects" and wrote: "The Patriarch of Jerusalem has declared that it is impossible for any one Church to acknowledge Anglican Orders unless the whole communion reconsiders its verdict and changes its opinion."

In that letter he had adduced the Patriarch as having made a specific statement capable of one interpretation only—viz., that the Eastern Orthodox Church, as a whole communion, had examined our Orders and had given a verdict upon them in accordance with the opinion it had so formed.

A verdict might have been that our Orders are doubtful, but it must have been preceded by a formal examination.

If it was meant as a paraphrase of a declaration that before the acceptance of our Orders the Eastern Orthodox Church must change its

[1] Dr. Fortescue is apparently under the impression that such economical Communion (*i.e.*, Communion without formal synodical authority) is rare. There were plentiful instances in Europe, Africa, America, and Australia before the War. Further, they have not been on the part of insignificant individuals. Thus, at the opening of the Synod at Washington in February, 1919, Bishop Alexander of Rodostolos, the official head of the Greeks in U.S.A., received Communion at St. Michael's, Baltimore, from the hands of the Bishop of Maryland.

[2] Although Dr. Fortescue quoted an extract from Maltzew which at first sight appears to pronounce Anglican Orders altogether invalid, Androutsos is probably right in describing that theologian as not going farther than saying that they are "at least very doubtful." The quotation of the convert Overbeck as an authoritative Orthodox theologian is evidence of the straits in which Dr. Fortescue found himself to get denial even from an individual.

method of procedure in regard to them or the like, it was a serious misquotation.

Further, a verdict on our Orders must have been communicated to the heads of the particular autocephalous Churches, and have been accepted by them, or it would not have been a verdict of the whole communion.

In fact in his Introduction to Androutsos' "Validity of English Ordinations,"[1] Dr. Grove Campbell, a convert from Anglicanism, a hostile writer, and one not likely to pass over a stronger statement in favour of a weaker, has this quotation from the Patriarch's answer to Bishop Blyth in 1907: "Notwithstanding all his friendliness and sympathetic attitude His Most Holy Beatitude . . . cannot give an affirmative answer to the validity of the Baptism and Orders of the Anglican Church. There are among us those who have examined these questions and have shown, from canonical and other reasons, the impossibility of recognizing the validity of both these Sacraments as sound in all their parts which are celebrated in the Anglican Church after a fashion of her own. And if at times certain economies[2] have been extended to these two matters by the Orthodox Church to the Anglicans under certain circumstances, this is quite a different thing to the definitive acceptance of the Baptism and Orders of the Anglicans. Further, His Most Holy Beatitude . . . expresses his opinion that such questions as these will only be dealt with properly when they are stated collectively and unitedly and not independently: stated by the whole Anglican Church to the whole Eastern Orthodox Church, and put forward for examination with all the other questions at issue, and not singly and by themselves. It is impossible when there has been no previous dogmatic and sacramental unity and communion between the two Churches that such essential questions should be examined and solved independently."

These words are altogether incompatible with Dr. Fortescue's statement that the Patriarch had spoken of a *verdict* of the whole communion, inasmuch as they postpone a decision until the whole Anglican Church propounds not only the validity of its Sacraments but "other questions" to the whole Eastern Orthodox Church.

Moreover, the Patriarch did not state that all Orthodox theologians, but only that some, had formed individual opinions as to the possibility of accepting Anglican Orders, and beyond implying his personal agree-

[1] Published by Grant Richards, 1909.

[2] The principle of economy, of which we hear much, may be summarized as the power of exercising "dispensation and condescension" in matters not affecting dogma or canon law. It is exercised by individual bishops, but in grave matters should receive the synodical authority of the local autocephalous Church and ultimately of the whole communion.

ment with them did no more than warn Bishop Blyth against construing the "economies" extended (*i.e.*, the authorization by individual hierarchs of the occasional acceptance of our Baptism and Orders) as a definitive acceptance of them.

Further, the Orthodox whom I was able to consult knew nothing of any formal pronouncement or of any concerted action in the matter. Accordingly I wrote on June 2 expressing doubt as to the accuracy of Dr. Fortescue's quotation, and asking for its documentary reference.

On June 7 he replied that I would "find in two articles in the *Tablet* of April 11 and 18, 1908, a number of authorities quoted with references, including what Damianos of Jerusalem said to Bishop Blyth in 1907 ('that many various reasons do not allow the Eastern Orthodox Church to accept their invalidity,' quoted from the *Nea Sion* of that date). I have nothing to add to what I wrote then."

Seeing that these quotations contained no declaration from the Patriarch as to a "*verdict*," I thought that Dr. Fortescue should either have something to add to "what he wrote then," or should give me the reference requested. On July 15 I therefore tried to force the issue and wrote: "Dr. Fortescue gives a reference for the Patriarch Damianos declaring in regard to our Orders that 'many reasons do not *allow the Eastern Orthodox Church to accept their validity*.' That reference, however, is as wearisome as the reception of coals at Newcastle; for in my first letter I wrote that while he would have been right in saying that it '*did not accept them*,' he was wrong in saying that it '*formally rejects*' them. Moreover, the statement which in his letter of May 26 he attributed to the Patriarch Damianos was something very different —viz., that the Patriarch had declared that the whole Orthodox Communion had given a verdict on our Orders. Will Dr. Fortescue be good enough to give that reference, to which I attach importance?"

In answer, Dr. Fortescue replied: "I regret that I cannot give Mr. Douglas the number of the *Nea Sion* which contains the answer of the Patriarch of Jerusalem to Bishop Blyth. I have not kept my copy. It occurs in the year 1907. I have discussed it in the *Tablet* and many ecclesiastical papers, including Anglican papers, and quoted what the Patriarch said. This was that the Orthodox Church could not recognize the validity of Anglican Orders, that no Church could do so until the whole communion reconsidered its verdict." At that stage the Editor of the *Tablet* saw fit to close the correspondence. I therefore wrote to the *Church Times* summarizing it, pointing out that it was unreasonable to bid me search for my opponent's quotations in newspaper files, and that in regard to the two categoric statements he had made, "Professor Commenos, of Halki, now in England, specially sent by the Œcumenical Patriarchate as a theological expert; and other members of the official Eastern Orthodox delegation to the Lambeth

Conference tell me that (1) I am correct in saying that the Orthodox Church does not 'formally reject' our Orders, and (2) they know of no such verdict as Dr. Fortescue states the Patriarch of Jerusalem to have declared to have been given."

Dr. Fortescue did not answer in the *Church Times* (I do not criticize his not doing so), but wrote me a personal letter, telling me that he had written to Jerusalem to enquire whether his memory as to the "*verdict*" was accurate, that on consideration "formally rejects" was too strong, and that he wished to substitute "formally refuses to acknowledge as valid."

As he expected, I replied that I dissented to the amendment no less than to the original, "formally" being altogether incorrect, and "refuses to acknowledge" being liable to be read in its maximum of negation.

In his answer he wrote that he had not meant to attribute more to the Patriarch of Jerusalem than was in the quotation in his letter of July 17, and to which I drew his attention subsequently. In doing so he added that perhaps "verdict" was too strong, and expressed his intention of explaining his position in the *Tablet*.

There the matter rests at present, except that I wrote further to the *Church Times* with his permission, summarizing the two letters he had sent me, and adding that the Metropolitan of Demotika and his colleagues from Constantinople had authorized me to state that in future the Œcumenical Patriarchate would not allow the reordination of an Anglican priest who wished to leave our communion and to join that of the Eastern Orthodox.

My object in detailing this correspondence has not been to criticize Dr. Fortescue. His initial mistakes are easily explicable from his fundamental misconception of Eastern Orthodox theology, a misconception which is partly due to, and partly the cause of, his identifying the Eastern Orthodox position with the Papalist. That identification I believe to be motived, consciously or subconsciously, by the belief that there are Anglican priests who, on finding their Orders "formally rejected" by the Eastern Orthodox as well as by the Papacy, might seek security from uncertainty in the obedience of the latter.

Dr. Fortescue's books (especially the "Orthodox Eastern Church") bear to me the marks of having been biased by the desire to affect such Anglicans to an extent which makes them quite unreliable, if not valueless, except for propaganda among the ill-informed.

It seems to me, therefore, well worth while to set out what is the Orthodox attitude towards our Orders. As I understand it, it is this:

(1) They hold, indeed, that the Successio Apostolica depends upon the transmission of the grace of priesthood by the sacramental imposition of the hands of bishops, but they hold that it is also dependent upon the Succession of Faith.

(2) The Eastern Orthodox Church, therefore, neither will nor can examine the validity of the Orders of any heterodox Church (Roman, Nestorian, Armenian, Anglican, etc.), in *principle*[1] and apart from questions of dogma. That is because she can know nothing of those Churches.[2] They are outside of her, and she cannot conclude that their priesthood is a valid priesthood as long as they themselves are heterodox.

(3) If and when, however, these Churches corporately, or their priests individually, are reconciled to Orthodoxy, she can become in a position to examine their Orders.

(4) On such examination, if the authorities of one of the Orthodox autocephalous Churches are satisfied that the essentials of the Sacrament have not been mutilated, and that the doctrine of the priesthood—*i.e.*, the power to offer "the Unbloody Sacrifice" of the Eucharist and to absolve sin—has not been abandoned, they can, in the exercise of economy, pronounce the Orders of converts when submitted to them to be valid. Such an economical recognition should be concurred in by the Œcumenical Patriarchate and by the heads of the other autocephalous Churches.

(5) In this way the Orders (and on the same principle the Baptism) of Romans, Nestorians, Armenians, and others have been examined, and it has been decided that converted priests of those Churches can be accepted in their Orders throughout the Orthodox Communion.

(6) Individual Eastern Orthodox theologians have examined Anglican Orders, and have almost unanimously pronounced that, as far as the succession of episcopal ordination goes, they are irreproachable, but have failed to find an explicit statement of the Anglican Church's "*purpose*"[3] to confer the priesthood in its doctrinal fulness.

(7) The Eastern Orthodox Church has no custom of conditional rebaptism or reordination, but holding that a repetition of a Sacrament of character is not wrong in the case of the heterodox, removes all doubt by their rebaptism and reordination.

(8) In consequence, the Eastern Orthodox do not recognize as fundamentally valid the Orders of priests belonging to any

[1] κατ' ἀρχήν—*i.e.*, as to whether they are fundamentally valid.

[2] In our controversy Dr. Fortescue repeatedly stated that the Orthodox Church holds herself to be the whole of "the one, true Church" in the same way that Papalists hold their Church to be the "one, true Church." The Orthodox reject that description and say that they know nothing about anything outside their Church.

[3] πρόθεσις—*i.e.*, much as we should say, the intention.

heterodox Church—*i.e.*, they no more recognize the Roman (unless or until the individual accepts Orthodoxy) than the Anglican. In the case of converts, however, they accept the Orders of the Roman, Nestorian, etc., but do not accept those of the Anglican.

That there is a fundamental difference between this and the Papalist position is, I think, obvious. The Orthodox to whom I have submitted it tell me that it is correct. It is borne out by the two extracts below, to which addition may readily be made from other theologians.

My friend Professor Chrestos Androutsos, formerly of Halki, now of Athens, than whom in the Greek Churches there is no present-day theologian of higher authority, or of greater repute for caution, made an investigation into the question of our Orders in 1903, at the request of the Œcumenical Patriarchate. After a most careful examination he concluded that our rite of ordination was sufficient, but on the two critical points of doctrine which form the "*purpose*" of ordination (the offering of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and Absolution) he found our formulances contradictory and inexplicit. He summarizes the results of his enquiry thus:[1] First, in setting out the reasons why the acceptance of the priesthood of any heterodox Church as fundamentally valid is out of the question for the Orthodox he quotes M. Basileius: "We would no longer be able to distinguish heretics from the Church, if we laid down a rule of communion with them by accepting the Orders of their bishops." Leaving on one side the larger question, as to be tested only if and when the English Church enters "as a whole into Orthodoxy," he proceeds—in regard to the Orders of the English clergy who may wish "to enter the Orthodox Church as individuals, and not otherwise"—to say: "Viewed from this narrower standpoint the Eastern Church not only has not given any decision on the subject of English Orders, but her theologians, both Greeks and others, as far as we can learn, have refrained from expressing any opinion which declared the mind of the Church in a scientific manner, and based on theological proof."

After giving extracts from many theologians such as I have mentioned above, he continues: "Provided the High Church [party] accepts grace as being transmitted in priesthood, and provided it does not hold the Calvinistic doctrine of the Eucharist, nor intends in any way to prejudice the priestly character, the dogmatic difficulties of the English Ordinal studied in humility and Christian love from an Orthodox Catholic point of view are capable of receiving a more favourable judgment than the one they received from Pope Leo XIII. and from the Old Catholics of Holland. But in order to put an end effectually to such difficulties . . . this Church of England must lay

[1] "The Validity of English Ordinations," Androutsos, translated by G. Campbell, pp. 107-114. Grant Richards, 1909.

down in a General Council of her prelates the doctrine of the ancient Church . . . as an unquestioned principle and . . . must wrest round the Articles and consider them as resolutions of a local council, holding good only as far as they agree with the ancient doctrine. . . . In particular the High Church [party] will solve the question of its priesthood by defining . . . (1) as regards the *Sacraments*: Does it receive the Seven Sacraments? (2) As regards *Confession*: Does it take Confession as a necessary condition for the remission of sins and the priestly absolving of sins as included in the authority given to it by the Lord? (3) As regards the *Eucharist*: How does it accept the Real Presence of the Lord? And what is the character of the Unbloody Sacrifice . . . ? (4) As regards the *Œcumenical Councils*: Will it receive these Councils as the infallible organs of the true Church . . . ? If the High Church [party] define these dogmas correctly and laid down the rest of its doctrines in an Orthodox manner, all doubt would be taken away as to the succession of English ordination, and, at the same time, solid foundations would be laid for a *rapprochement* and for a true union with the Eastern Church."

From this extract it will be evident that in Androutsos' opinion, if that body of our clergy and laity covered by the term "High Church" stood alone, there would be little difficulty not only in the Eastern Orthodox accepting our Orders, but in their proceeding to consider terms of reunion. Until, however, the Thirty-nine Articles are amended and are defined to be of secondary importance, and until clear and authoritative answers have been given to the above questions, the Eastern Orthodox Church *must* maintain her aloofness.[1]

I may perhaps venture to say here that in my own judgment, and especially in view of the *entente* which has been developed in the last few years, apart from the seven Œcumenical Councils and the *filioque*, the really serious bars to reunion are the Thirty-nine Articles and the vagueness of our formularies in regard to the Sacraments. If they stood by themselves some of the overseas Anglican Churches could probably have Intercommunion with the Orthodox to-morrow.

The second quotation is from the Russian Bulgakoff, who wrote as far back as 1898: "The question of the Anglican hierarchy at the present time is in the following position: (1) Its uninterrupted succession from and connection with the Roman Catholic hierarchy, thanks to the latest historical investigations, must be acknowledged to be undoubted . . . if the teaching of the present Anglican episcopate should turn out to agree with the teaching of the ancient universal Church, this will be

[1] From what has been said above, it is manifest that at the present time there is no possibility of the Orthodox hierarchy acceding to the suggestion recently made that Anglican priests while remaining Anglicans should seek conditional reordination at its hands.

a clear proof that Anglicanism has not only preserved the Apostolic Succession in an outward manner, but that it has not changed the essential nature of that ministry which is indispensable to the Church according to the mind of her Divine Founder and Head. Only then will it be possible to decide the question as to what order of error the errors of the Anglican Church are to be referred—this is to say, whether the gift of the grace of the priesthood has been extinguished within her, or whether that Church has within her a glimmering of the light of grace, sufficiently to enable her Orders to be acknowledged as valid."[1]

THE LEAGUE OF CHURCHES

By the Secretary of the Holy Synod, Constantinople

A GREAT movement is sweeping over all classes of individuals as well as over the nations. Every class, every nation, and every race is seeking to understand the other and thus to unite, because they know that in union they will find strength. This movement could not but influence the Churches also, and the Churches are swinging into the movement, into line, in order to approach and understand each other and to unite. This movement, which hitherto has been but little more than the expression of a wish, now has become an imperative necessity. One might rather say that this movement is a great good which has resulted from a great evil—that is, from the Great War. "No good can come without being mixed with evil; and likewise, no bad can come without a mixture of something good." The first fruit of this unifying movement has been the League of Nations, and a second fruit is brought forth with a natural and regular manner—that is, "the League of Churches."

I believe that the League of Churches is not foreign to the ultimate aim of the Young Men's Christian Associations, and therefore I will try to develop briefly this question. The League of Churches is a proposal which has been put forth by the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople. Already they have communicated it to all Churches, and they are methodically pursuing its realization. I don't mention this with a view to raising the prestige of the Œcumenical Patriarchate. Not at all. I wish to bring out the fact that the Churches of Christ regret their divisions, and they are tending their hands to one another in order to do away with these differences. I mention with great joy that the Greek Patriarchate, the Church of England, the Swedish and American Churches of all confessions, the Serbian Church, the Russian,

[1] "The Question of Anglican Orders," by Bulgakoff, of Kiev, translated by W. J. Birkbeck, 1899.

Armenian, and others, are already entering into relation with one another, either for mutual understanding or for support and consolation.

The recent persecutions of all the Christians in the East, and especially of the Armenians and the Greeks, has served to cause each Church to raise herself above long-lived superstitions and above the narrow limits of a particular psychology or mentality, and thus to show a love for Christ and a pure desire for mutual understanding and *rapprochement*. No doubt Christ's Spirit inspires and guides these movements.

The Œcumenical Patriarchate cannot overlook the difficulties which the unity of Churches can meet if this subject is to be discussed immediately. And just because they are conscious of the necessity o surmounting these difficulties, they have deemed it necessary to prepare the soil by the institution of the League of Churches. They consider that this is the first step to be taken toward the realization of the unity for which our Lord prayed in John xvii. 21, "that they all may be one," the prayer which all Churches have received as a heritage, and make common use of.

This is not the occasion to expose the reasons for the divisions in the Church. Nevertheless, you will allow me to emphasize the fact that the chasm started to widen at the very moment when human doctrines tried to replace the Divine. The conditions which the Greek Patriarchate have suggested for the success of the League of Churches are the following:

First, and indispensable, that proselytism between different confessions should cease to exist. This does not mean that the Greek Patriarchate is opposed to individual liberty or would restrict the right of every man to think according to his own wishes. They mean that the system which is purposely and premeditatedly organized to attract or to bait followers should cease. We must not ignore what a lack of confidence, what uneasiness, and what a coolness, which approaches hate, this proselytism provokes among the Churches. On account of this very often the internal harmony of families is broken, as well as the internal peace of Churches. The different trials and afflictions which the Churches witness from other sources are sufficient; they must not be overcharged by those which arise from proselytism.

Secondly, that Churches should show in deeds a vivid interest in each other in favour of their stability and of their welfare. Far from considering herself a stranger to another, a Church should consider herself as related to another and belonging to Christ, and so follow with great eagerness and careful study what is taking place in other Churches, be it irksome and sorrowful, or pleasant, easy, and accordingly to give a helping hand.

Thirdly, that an exchange of brotherly letters should take place

between the Churches on the occasion of the great feasts, and that representatives of the Churches should come into closer relationships.

The *fourth* condition is that young men should be sent by each Church to the theological schools of the others for their studies, and that theological academies might be in constant communication with each other.

The *fifth* condition is that there be a co-operation between the Churches and the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association, and even in the spreading of the Bible among non-Christian peoples.

Sixthly, Christian conferences might be held and questions touching all the Churches might be treated, the dogmatical differences discussed without passion in the historical light and in the spirit of love and of goodwill.

Seventhly, that the traditions and customs of each Church be mutually respected.

Another condition is to cede chapels and cemeteries to those who have not enough for their followers.

A *ninth condition* is that the question of mixed marriages be settled among the Churches.

And, *finally*, that the various Churches support each other in religious and philanthropic enterprizes.

All these conditions are so many means for developing and strengthening the mutual respect of the Churches as well as their mutual interests. Every good thing which might result from this co-operation would be a good for each and for all; the glory of each would become the glory of all, and the afflictions of each would be common to all. "And whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it; and one member is honoured, all the members rejoice with it" (1 Cor. xii. 26).

The League of Churches is not only desired, but it imposes itself. Many old and new dangers menace all Churches—the bases of the Christian faith, even the Christian life of the Churches and of the State. It is enough to mention the awful and the newest of dangers, "Bolshevism." It cannot be denied that some reasonable and right basis may be its outcome. But it is certain that the evolution it presents is the most wonderful enemy humanity ever saw. That is why the civilized world is concerned about it.

It is true that every Church is trying to overcome every danger which is trying to destroy its ethico-social being. But can separate energies give the same result as united powers? Not at all.

We must not forget, also, other practical dangers which are spreading very easily everywhere, destroying individuals, families, and society itself. Alcoholism, luxury, great love and respect for wealth,

and especially the means used to obtain it, the misdeeds caused by poverty and prisons and other calamities: all these are fearful dangers, and examples of the questions which the Churches may well study together.

These are some of the ideas that have induced the Œcumenical Patriarchate to make the proposal of the League of Churches. They have the conviction that it does not pursue an impossible goal. The Patriarchate makes no boasting, but in Christ's love affirms that the gate for the outpouring of a common energy is open to all the Churches of our Lord, and that common endeavours will bring out a fine result: the unity of those who believe in Christ for whom our Lord prayed, saying: "Neither for those only do I pray, but for them also that believe on Me through their word, that they all may be one."

NOTES ON RECENT EVENTS

THE election of Dimitri, the Metropolitan of Belgrade and Archbishop of Serbia, to the Patriarchate of Ipek, which embraces all Jugo-Slavia, and was the fruit of the Great War, was an event of capital importance in the Eastern Orthodox world. It not only seals the merging of the former separate and autocephalous Churches of Montenegro, Carlowicz, and Bosnia-Herzegovina into one Church with the Serbian, but the restoration of the mediæval Patriarchate, the recollection of which was one of the chief national possessions of the sundered Jugo-Slav race in its oppression. Ipek, the ancient seat of the Serb Patriarchate under Stephen Dušan and other Serb Tzars, is a little town in the south of Old Serbia.

The title of Patriarch must not give rise to confusion. The Orthodox world, of course, knows only of five Patriarchates properly speaking—viz., Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and that of Russia, now happily revived in all the tragedy of the past few years. The assumption of the title of Patriarch in the Middle Ages by the chief prelates of Serbia and Bulgaria was due to the assumption of the title of Tsar by their sovereign, it being held that a Cæsar must have a Patriarch to crown him.

Speaking of Russia we could not read Mrs. Sheridan's diary of her sculpturing expedition to Moscow, published in *The Times* in November, without marking the pathetic but splendid witness of her note on the Bolshevist "tolerance" of religion. This is her entry for November 2, 1920:

"*November* 2.—Felt ill. Symptoms of abdominal typhus. Panic on part of my friends. They say they do not want to lay my body under the Kremlin wall. If they do, I have told them I don't mind speeches, but I would like a prayer. The answer to that was, 'Are you really *croyante?*'

"'Well,' I said, 'there are two children praying every night that I may return safe and soon, and the thought of that gives me a certain security.'

"'What! You teach your children to pray?'

"'But surely they must have something to guide them as they start life?'

"'You should teach them reality and not fantasy.'

"'It is not fantasy to believe in a Divine power.'

"'You should believe only in your own power.'

"This is a conversation I have had as a result of my slight indisposition. It is a conversation that confirms the general idea I have met in others since I have been here. I know these men are idealists and selfless. I did not know these qualities could go hand in hand with atheism.

"On this point my friend corrected me. He did not even want to be regarded as an idealist. That was too unpractical. 'We are idealistic materialists,' he said.

"To prove their tolerance of religious thought, the churches are all open. But to enter the sacred gateway which leads to the Red Square it was necessary, in pre-revolution days, for men to pass uncovered. A tablet has now been inserted in the wall engraved with the inscription, 'Religion is the opiate of the people.' Hardly ever have I passed that by without having it pointed out to me with great pride. I never quite understood the spirit of it.

"And as for the people, they seem to disregard it, to judge by the many who cross themselves as they pass. The shrine seems to be always full of devotees, who pause to pray. The religious feeling of the people will not easily be obliterated; and, after all, they need all the comfort and hope they can get, even if the intellectuals do not.

Every student of reunion who has read Bulgakoff's "Question of Anglican Orders" (and all should read it) will be glad to know that the Professor is likely to spend part of this winter in London. Mr. Birkbeck translated the work in 1899 for the Church Historical Society. Professor Bulgakoff, though more cautious, came to the same conclusion in 1897 as Professor Andrutsos, who made a similar but independent investigation six years later—viz., that the Orthodox could accept Anglican Orders on receiving satisfactory replies in regard to our doctrine.

We understand that the Syrian Jacobite Patriarch, Mar Ignatius, has taken up his residence in Constantinople for an indefinite period, and has entered into very friendly relations with the English clergy there.

The Rev. W. Wigram, whose unique work among the Assyrians, and first-hand knowledge of "our smallest ally" and of their Christian neighbours, the Armenians and Jacobite Syrians, makes him one of our great assets in the

Near and Middle East, has accepted the responsibility of founding and governing a High School at Mosul. We shall look for many articles from him in the Near East. It will be remembered that he was interned in Asia Minor during the war, and had many experiences at the hands of the Turks.

We refrain from any comment on the Greek elections held in November and their consequences. Our concern is with the entente, so happy in its progress and so rich in result, which exists between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches. For us the politics of the Greek nation are its own affair. No matter what troubles diplomacy may make in Greece or out of it, we shall be faithful to our cause and to our Greek friendships. Incidentally, however, we may note that after the elections the Metropolitan of Athens, Meletios, an ardent advocate of Anglican friendship, gave place to his predecessor, Theoklitos, who, however, is certainly not ill-disposed towards us.

We mentioned that very human document, "Lady Surma d'Bait Mar Shimun," in September. It will unquestionably remain of first importance in all future study of the Assyrians. Now we have its companion volume (Faith Press, 22, Buckingham Street, 5s.), "The Baqubah Refugee Camp," by Brigadier-General H. H. Austin, its commandant, a book of a different type, but of great value. No Eastern Church student can do without it. Incidentally we must notice the severe stricture of the General on the part played by the Chaldæans, or Papalist Assyrians, during the war. They seem to have linked themselves to the Turks and Kurds. "I am all for giving full credit where credit is due," writes General Austin, "but when emissaries of the Chaldæans and their supporters in this country endeavour to derive chief credit for the valiant opposition offered to Turks and Kurds by the Assyrians, it is only just that the real facts of the case should be made clear" (p. 101). The book is well illustrated. Among the incidents described is the loss of the silver cross worn by the Patriarchs for 1,500 years.

REVIEWS

The English Church and the Armenian. By the Rev. Harold Buxton, M.A. (Faith Press.) 3d.

Mr. Harold Buxton has naturally a unique knowledge of the Armenian Church of to-day. In this little pamphlet he gives a clear and concise statement of the possibilities of an *entente* between the Anglican and Armenian Churches. While he is of opinion that intercommunion should not be hurried, he is very sanguine as to the possibilities of the future. Like most of those who have a first-hand knowledge of the Armenians, he is convinced that there are no doctrinal causes for any hesitation as to our intercommunion with them.

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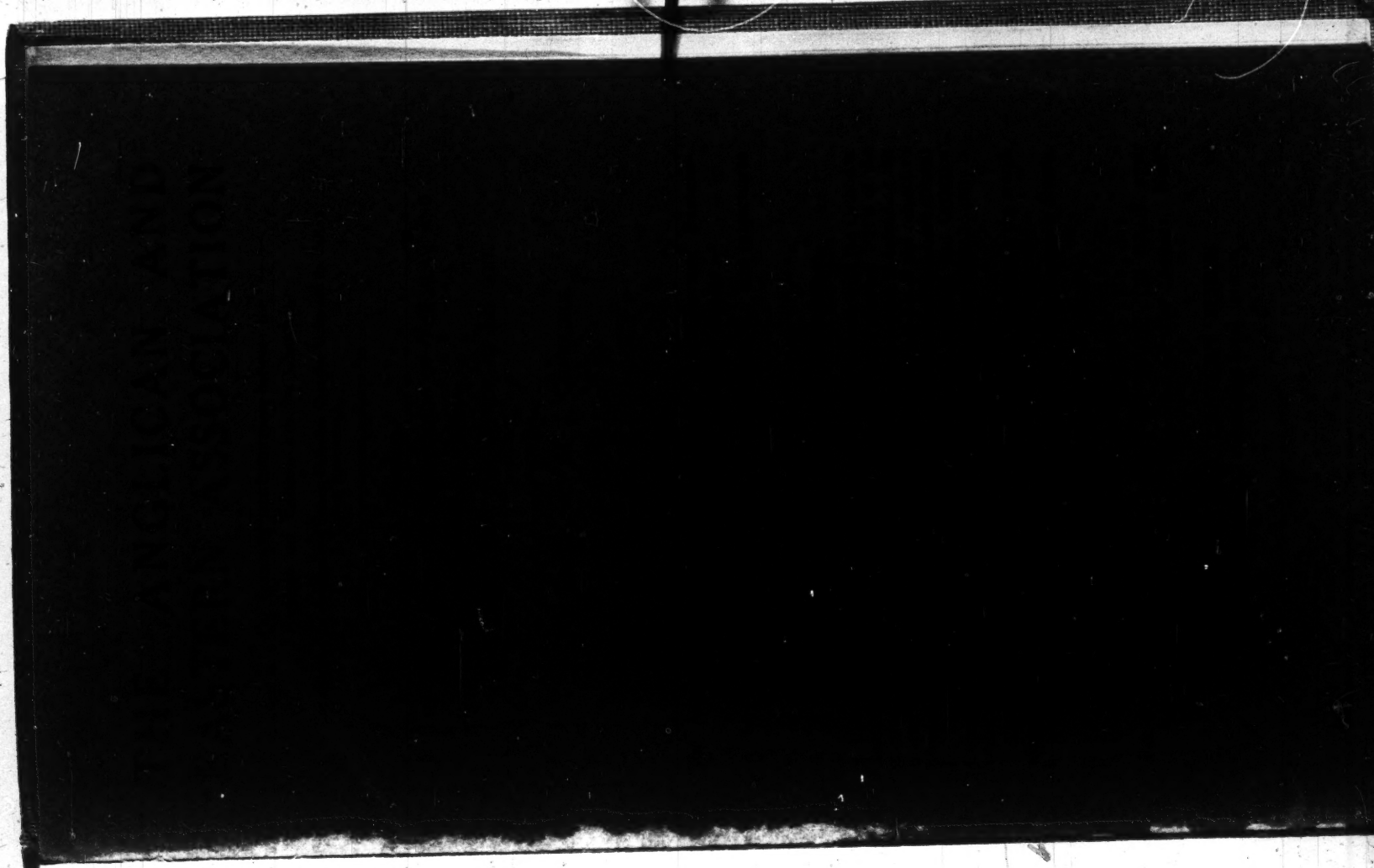
Verfassung und gegenwätiger Bestand sämmtlicher Kirchen des Orients. Eine kanonistisch-statistische Abhandlung, von Dr. ISIDOR SILBERNAGL. 1904.

THE author of this book divides the Eastern Communions into two classes according to their attitude towards Rome. Thus for him there are the Uniats, or Orthodox, while all the rest are schismatics. It would have been less controversial could he have done as Duchesne has done, and described non-Roman Communions as Eglises Separées. However, if we overlook this objectionable nomenclature, we have before us a truly German laborious summary of all the various Churches of the East, statistics concerning their dioceses, methods, regulations, and everything else that could be tabulated. It is a very useful collection of facts, originally compiled by Silbernagl, and now edited and enlarged, since Silbernagl's death, by Schweitzer, professor of theology in the University of Munich. The work is a most useful book of reference. It compresses into less than 400 pages a quantity of details which it would need a whole library to discover. An account is given of the existing state—that is, up to 1904—of the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. To this is added the Eastern Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Greece, in Bulgaria, in Russia, in Rumania, in Serbia, in Montenegro, in Hungary, in Dalmatia, in Albania, the Nestorians, the Copts, the Abyssinians, the Jacobites, and the Thomas Christians of Malabar. The second part of the book contains an account of the various Uniat Churches. To have summarized all this, and to have made it really readable and interesting, is no small achievement. There are, it must be confessed, at times several dreary lists of names; but this was inevitable.



R. I. P.

His Grace
the Lord Dorotheos,
Metropolitan of Brusa,
Locum Tenens of the
Œcumenical Throne.

Died in London,
Friday, March 17th, 1921.

Ὁ Τοποτηρητὴς τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ
Θρόνου
Δ. Τέλη Δορ.
Ἐν Λονδίνῳ ἐπ. 22/7 Μαρτίου
1921